

**Some early Middle English dialect features in  
the South-East Midlands; an onomastic study.**

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## **Declaration**

I declare that this thesis was composed by myself and that the research reported here was conducted by myself, unless otherwise indicated in the text.

Elżbieta Majocha



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## Abstract

Uniformitarian principles suggest that the spoken English of 1100-1300 would have displayed regional variation. The written reflections of spoken regional diversity evident in Late Middle English (1300-1500) support this assumption, but the paucity of literary texts from the earlier period has made it difficult to test. This thesis uses the more plentiful place-name evidence to show the extent of areal linguistic variation in the written English of this period in six East Midland counties: Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire with Ely, Essex, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Middlesex.

Chapter one introduces the period, geographic area and the aims of the project. It also gives an overview of the previous research into early Middle English. Chapter two reviews the use of onomastic data in Middle English dialectology. It discusses important contributions by Wyld, Ekwall, Bohman, Sundby, Kristensson and Ek and addresses some issues of methodology and ideology that arise from the study of place names for dialectal research.

Chapter three discusses the tools and research methods used in this analysis. The data from five English Place-Name Society volumes, covering six counties was scanned, parsed and entered into a database. Bespoke software allowed complex searches by spelling, date and source, returning data sets in tabular or map form.

Chapter four presents the data with analysis and discussion. Four variables were examined in fifty-year sub-periods: OE /ɑ:/, OE /y/, OE /æ:/ and voicing of initial fricatives [f] and [s]. Selected lexical items were investigated in name-initial and name non-initial position. The corresponding spellings are tabulated by county, and mapped to show geographic and temporal variation. Individual items are discussed in detail, with reference to source types in which they are recorded, and general patterns of variation are identified. Chapter five summarises the results, points out some limitations and offers suggestions for further development.

There are six appendices. Appendix A: List of data identifiers (IDs) that allow cross-referencing the data in the tables, appendices and on maps. Appendix B: OE /ɑ:/ data. Appendix C: OE /y/ data. Appendix D: OE /æ:/ data. Appendix E: Voicing of initial fricatives [f] and [s] data. Appendix F: Geographical arrangement of data.

The unrivalled level of detail achieved in this onomastic study, displayed on forty distribution maps, allows us to capture changes in progress, to identify archaic language strata in which pre-change forms are preserved, and to demonstrate the existence of new, post-change, layers of language in early Middle English. The data demonstrates greater variation in the selected variables than had been previously known.

This work shows the value of onomastics as a source of data on early Middle English, supplementary to the documentary and literary evidence collected in projects such as the Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English.

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# Abbreviations

12A	first half of the 12th century (1101-1150)
12B	second half of the 12th century (1151-1200)
13A	first half of the 13th century (1201-1250)
13B	second half of the 13th century (1251-1300)
a.	ante (before)
AetC	Addenda et Corrigenda
c.	circa (about)
cf.	compare
DB	<i>Domesday Book</i> (1086)
eME, EME	early Middle English
EPNS	The English Place-Name Society
Gmc	Germanic
ID(s)	data identifier(s)
Kt	Kentish
LME	Late Middle English
Lon	London
ME	Middle English
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
OE	Old English
OFr	Old French
PDE	Present-Day English
rem.	remark
WGmc	West Germanic
WS	West-Saxon
t. Stephen	times of Stephen (1135 - 1154)
t. Hy 2	times of Henry II (1154 - 1189)
t. Ric 1	times of Richard I (Lionheart) (1189 - 1199)
t. John	times of John the Lackland (1199 - 1216)
t. Hy 3	times of Henry III (1216 - 1272)
t. Ed 1	times of Edward I (1272 - 1307)

## Chapman County Codes:

BED	Bedfordshire	HRT	Hertfordshire
CAM	Cambridge	HUN	Huntingdonshire
ESS	Essex	MDX	Middlesex

## Abbreviations of Sources of Data

(The list below is intended for quick reference; for details regarding series, volumes, published and unpublished sources, see the lists of sources in particular volumes.)

Abbr	Placitorum Abbreviatio, 1811
AC	Ancient Charters (Pipe Roll Soc.), 1888
AD	Catalogue of Ancient Deeds. (In progress.); and Unpublished Deeds at the PRO
Add	Additional MSS in the British Museum
AddCh	Additional Charters in the British Museum
ANG	Ungedrückte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen, ed. Liebermann, 1879
ASC	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle
Ass	Assize Rolls, published and unpublished in PRO
ASWills	Anglo-Saxon Wills, ed. Whitelock, 1930
Barnwell	Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Barnwelle, ed. J.W. Clark, 1907
Basset	The Basset Grant, a deed c. 1180-9, Uxbridge Library
BCS	Birch, Cartularium Saxonum, 3 vols., 1885-93
BM	Index to the Charters and Rolls in the British Museum, 2 vols., 1900-12
Bodl	Calendar of Charters and Rolls in the Bodleian, 1878
Bodl	Essex Charters and other documents (unpublished) in the Bodleian
Bract/Bracton	Bracton's Note-book, ed. Maitland, 3 vols., 1887
BuryDoc	Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, ed. Douglas, 1932
Caen	Cartulary of Holy Trinity Abbey, Caen (MS Latin 5650, Paris)
CartAnt	The Cartae Antiquae Rolls 1-10 (Pipe Roll Soc. NS 17), 1939
Ch	Calendar of Charter Rolls, 6 vols., 1903-27
CaiCh	Gonville and Caius College
Cl	Calendar of Close Rolls. (In progress.)
Clarkenwell	The Clarkenwell Cartulary, ed. Hassall (Camden, Third Series)
CIR	Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, 2 vols., 1833-44
Colch	Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestrie, 2 vols. (Roxburghe Club), 1897
Cole	Cole MSS (BM)
Colne	Colne Cartulary ( <i>pennes</i> Col. W. G. Carwardine Probert)
Coroner	Select Cases from the Coroners' Rolls, 1256-1413 (Selden Soc. 9), 1896
Cott	Cotton MSS (BM)
CottCh	Cotton Charters (BM)
CR	Pipe Roll, Chancellor's Copy
Crispin	Gilbert Crispin, ed. J. A. Robinson, 1911
Ct	Court Rolls, published and unpublished
CTerr	Terrarium terrarum in campis de Cantebrigia (CUL Add MS 2601)
Cur	Curia Regis Rolls. (In progress.)
CurR	Rotuli Curiae Regis, 2 vols., 1835
D	Letters and State Papers Domestic, 12 vols., 1856-72
DB	Domesday Book
Deed(s)	Unpublished deeds in private hands
Dickin	A History of Brightlingsea, Dickin, 1913
Dugd	Dugdale, Monasticon, 6 vols. in 8, 1817-30
Dunmow	Registrum Cartarum Prioratus de Dunmawe (Harl. MS 662)
Dunst	Dunstable Cartulary, also Annales prioratus de Dunstaplia (Rolls Series)
EA	The East Anglian, 17 vols., 1858-1910
EAS	Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, (OS) Old Series, (NS) New Series
ECStP	Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, ed. M. Gibbs, London, 1939

EHR	English Historical Review
Ely	Register of Ely Cathedral (Cott. MS Claud. C xi) (BM)
ElyA	Vetus Liber Archidiaconi Eliensis
ElyCh	Cartae Antiquae penes the Dean and Chapter of Ely Cathedral
ElyCouch	The old Coucher Book of Ely (a. 1330), Ely Diocesan Registry
ElyF	Ely Cartulary (15th) (Eg 3047)
ElyM	Cartulary of Ely (14th), MS M, Ely Diocesan Registry
EnclA	Enclosure Awards
ER	The Essex Review. (In progress.)
Extent	Unpublished Extents in PRO, BM, and elsewhere
FA	Feudal Aids, 6 vols., 1899-1920
Fees	Book of Fees, 3 vols., 1922-31
FF	Feet of Fines, published and unpublished
Fine	Calendar of Fine Rolls. (In progress.)
FineR	Excerpta e rotulis finium, 2 vols., 1835-6
For	Select Pleas of the Forest, published and unpublished
France	Calendar of Documents preserved in France, 1899
GDR	Gaol Delivery Roll, unpublished (ex. inf. Mr R. C. Fowler)
Gervase	Gervase of Canterbury (Rolls Series, 2 vols.), 1867-9
GervT	Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia, ed. F. Liebrecht, 1856
Gesta	Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani (Rolls Series, 3 vols.), 1867-9
HarlCh	Harleian Charters
Harlow	Harlow Cartulary, Cambridge University, AddMS 6847
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
Hosp	Cartulary of the Knights Hospitalless (15th) (Cott. Nero E vi) (BM)
HPD	Hornchurch Priory Documents, 1923
ICC	Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis ... ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton 1876
Imb	W. Dugdale, The History of Imbanking, 2nd ed., 1772
Inq aqd	Inquisitiones ad quod damnum, 1803
InqEl	Inquisitio Eliensis, 1876
Ipm	Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem, published and unpublished
IpmR	Inquisitiones post mortem, 4 vols., 1806-28
KCD	Kemble, Codex Diplomaticus, 6 vols., 1839-48
Lib	Calendar of Liberate Rolls. (In progress.)
LibEl	Liber Eliensis (Anglia Christiana Soc.), 1848
LiberA	Register in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's
LibR	Rotuli de liberate, 1844
Londin	Registrum Radulphi de Baldock, etc., 1911
LP	Letters and Papers illustrative of the reigns of various kings; Materials for a History of the reign of Henry VII; Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII; State Papers Domestic. (In progress.); also State Papers Domestic (unpublished) in PRO
LS	Lay Subsidy (1220), Subsidy Collected in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1526
LSR	Lay Subsidy Rolls, published and unpublished
Mandeville	Round, Geoffrey de Mandeville, 1892
MinAcct	Ministers' Accounts (PRO)
Misc	Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous. (In progress.)
Miss	Missenden Cartulary (Harl. MS 3688) (BM)
MP	Mathew Paris, Chronica Majora (Rolls Series, 7 vols.), 1872-83
MxRec	Documents preserved at Middlesex Guildhall
N	Norden, An Historical Description of Essex, 1594 (Camden Soc.), 1840
NI	Nonarum Inquisitiones, 1807
Oath	Oath Book of Colchester, ed. Benham, 1907
Ord	Orderici Vitalis Hist. Eccl., 5 vols., ed. A. le Prevost, 1838-55
Orig	Originalia Rolls, 1805-10, 1838-55
P	Pipe Rolls, published and unpublished
Pap	Calendar of Papal Registers. (In progress.)

3Paper	Red Paper Book of Colchester, ed. Benham, 1902
Pat	Calendar of Patent Rolls. (In progress.)
Queens	MSS at Queen's College, Cambridge
QW	Placita de Quo Warranto, 1818
RBE	Red Book of the Exchequer, 3 vols., 1896
RecStBarts	The Records of St Bartholomew's Priory, West Smithfield, ed. E.A. Webb, 2 vols., 1921
Rental	Rentals (unpublished) at BM, PRO and elsewhere
RH	Rotuli Hundredorum, 2 vols., 1812-18
RotDom	Rotuli de Dominabus (Pipe Roll Society, 35), 1913
SR	Lay Subsidy Rolls, published and unpublished
StAlbansN	Cartulary of St Albans Abbey (Cott. MS Nero D vii) (BM)
StAlbansO	Cartulary of St Albans Abbey (Cott. MS Nero D vii) (BM)
StJohn	Cartulary of the Knights Hospitallers (15th) (Cott. MS Nero E vi)
StJohn's	Documents in the possession of St John's College, Cambridge
St Neot	Cartulary of St Neot
StP	The Domesday of St Paul's (Camden Soc.), 1858
StPauls	St Paul's Cathedral Muniments
StPaulsCh	Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul's, London, ed. Marion Gibbs (Camden Soc. Third Series 58), 1939
StPaulsDB	The Domesday of St Paul's (Camden Society), 1858
StPaulsMSS	Historical MSS Commission Ninth Report, Part i, 1883
Takeley	Registrum Evidentiarum of Takeley Priory, vol. iv (16th), at New College, Oxford
Tax	Taxatio Ecclesiastica, 1802
Templars	Records of the Templars, ed. Lees (British Academy Rec.Series). 1935
Thorney	Red Book of Thorney (c. 1320) (CUL Add MS 3020)
Val	The Valuation of Norwich, ed. W. E. Lunt, 1926
VCH	Victoria County History of Essex, 2 vols., 1903-7
VE	Valor Ecclesiasticus, 6 vols., 1810-34
VStP	Visitations of the Churches belonging to St Paul's Cathedral (Camden Soc. 2nd Series), 1895
Waltham	Registrum monasterii S. Crucis de Waltham (13th) (Cott. MS Tib. C. ix)
WalthamA	Cartularium Abbatiae de Waltham (15th) (Harl. MS 4809)
WalthamB	Waltham Cartulary (13th) (Harl. MS 391)
WalthamC	Waltham Cartulary (c. 1526-40) (Add MS 37665)
WalthamCh	De inventione Sanctae Crucis, ed. Stubbs, 1861
WalthamD	Winters, History of Waltham Abbey, 1888
WAM	Westminster Abbey Muniments
WDB	Westminster Domesday Book (14th)
Weinbaum	M. Weinbaum, London unter Eduard I und II, 1933
Westlake	H.F. Westlake, St Margaret's Westminster, 1914
Whet	Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede (Rolls Series, 2 vols.), 1872-3
Whalley	Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey (Chetham Soc.), 1847-9
Will	Unpublished wills at Somerset House
Wills	Abstracts of Hertfordshire Wills, Consistory Court of the Bishop of London (HGA I, II, III)
WMP	Wm of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum Anglorum (Rolls Series), 1870
Works	Public Works in Medieval Law
Wymondley	Cartulary of Wymondley Priory (BM)
Ych	Early Yorkshire Charters, 6 vols.: Vols 1-3 ed. W. Farrer; Vols. 4-6 ed. C.T. Clay, 1914-39

# 1 Introduction

... we have ... to remember that dialects are artefacts, fictitious entities invented by speakers, in which, for limited purposes, linguists suspend disbelief. In reality, there are not dialects, but dialect-criteria. ... With all these cautions in mind we must turn to the written data, and to what they seem to tell us about speech, in various parts of the community (Strang 1970: 227).

## 1.1 Scope, Aims and Data

This project aims to contribute to the historical dialectology of English. It focusses on early Middle English, which for this thesis I take to be the period between 1100 and 1300. Until the end of the twentieth century this was a much neglected period of the history of the language. To date, there are still no inventories of early Middle English dialect features or maps showing geographical distribution of variants recorded for the dialect features (however see section 1.2 below about forthcoming LAEME). This is in sharp contrast to the now plentiful evidence for regional diversity in Late Middle English (1300-1500) published for example in the four volumes of *A Linguistic atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (henceforth *LALME*) (1986). In fact, evidence from various periods of English, and of other languages, indicates that variation is an ever-present natural property of language (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968). Furthermore, theoretical frameworks, such as uniformitarian principles (Lass 1997: 28-9) suggest that dialects of past stages of a language did not behave differently from the present-day ones. We can assume, therefore, that the spoken English of the period 1100-1300 would have displayed rich regional variation. It is the dialectologist's task to identify data for the study of early Middle English dialects, analyse it and reconstruct the dialect continuum for the period.

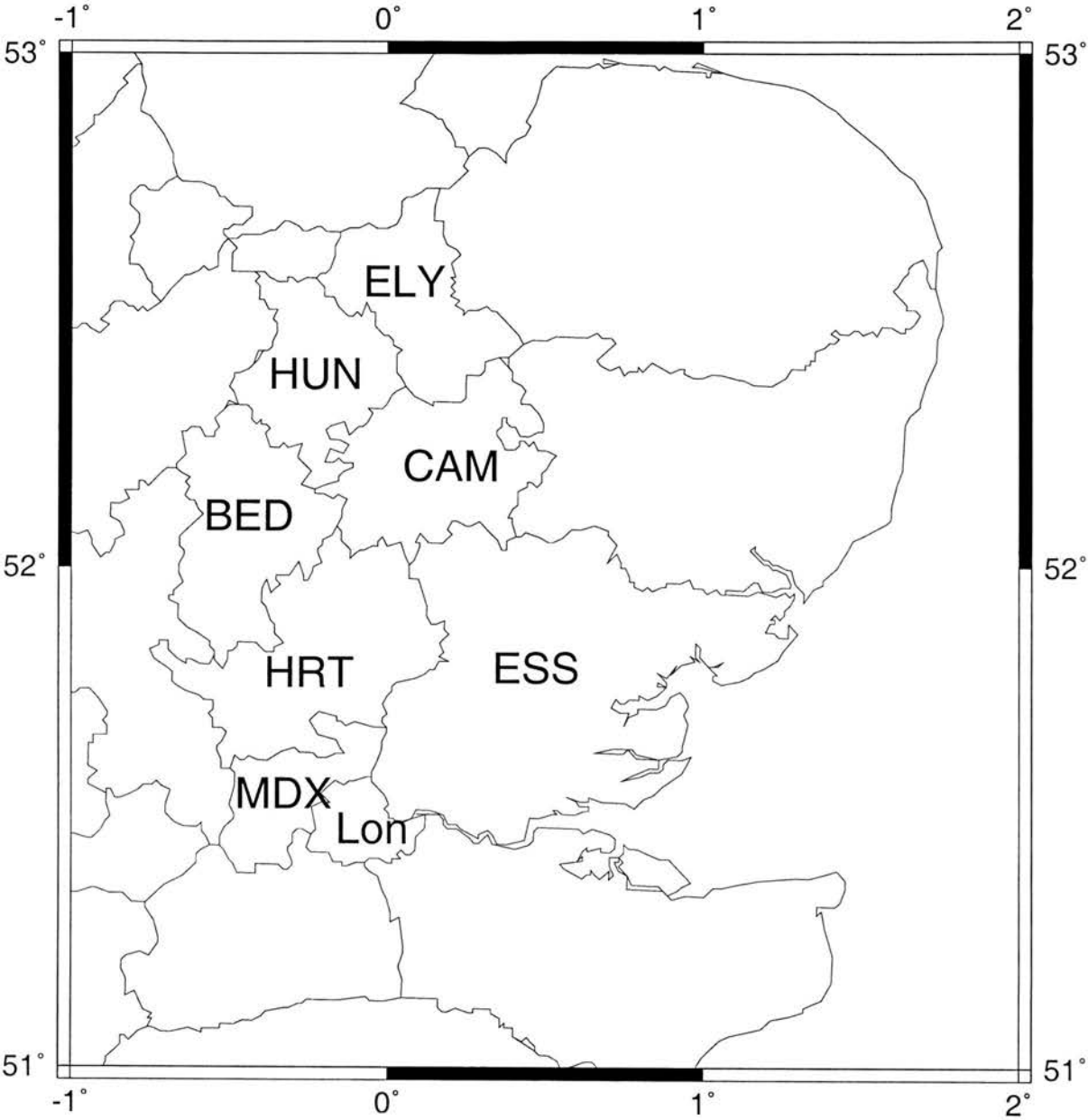
### 1.1.1 Period and geographic area

Six counties in the South-East Midlands: Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire with Ely, have been selected for a study of regional variation in early Middle English; see the Key Map.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The country and county outlines featured on the maps were kindly made available to me by Keith Williamson from the Institute for Historical Dialectology, University of Edinburgh. The map shows the pre-1974 county boundaries, used by EPNS and by the majority of researchers involved in historical studies.

Key Map: Counties (with pre-1974 boundaries) included in the survey are named on the map.



The Key Map (p. 2) shows the area examined in this project.<sup>2</sup> The area chosen covers the southern limit of the East Midlands and the northern limit of the South-East dialect areas, as traditionally defined. As such it could be expected to display plentiful regional linguistic variants. The first satisfactory account of the variation in the South-East Midlands is for Late Middle English, as displayed in *LALME*. Additional onomastic data (Kristensson 1995a) is also available from the beginning of that period. The linguistic situation before that time has not yet been investigated satisfactorily. Although Ek (1972, 1975) presents a sizeable amount of onomastic data, some of it from the 12th and 13th centuries, his focus is on establishing boundaries of developments in the 14th century.<sup>3</sup> The traditional map of Old English dialects found in standard handbooks of the history of English, for example Baugh and Cable (1951[1993]: 52), implies that the area belongs to Old English Mercian. Jordan (Jordan-Crook 1974) gives this Middle English dialect a general Anglian ancestry; West-Saxon influence on Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Middlesex, and possibly on Essex has also been recognised.

The traditional Old English dialect map is grossly misleading, “geographical labels and chronological labels are mixed with what appears often enough to be reckless abandon.” (Hogg 1988: 187). In other words, the map represents at least three diachronic maps, based on successive standards, derived from a few centres of production, which are then taken to represent large areas of the country, whether there is surviving local evidence or not.<sup>4</sup> Mercian predominates in the 8th and 9th centuries, reaching out as far as Kent. West-Saxon and Kentish gain strength in the 10th century whilst the Mercian influence is diminishing. In the 11th century, West-Saxon spreads to West-Mercia, Central Midlands and London, possibly Essex, Sussex, West and East Surrey and Kent. The nature of surviving Old English texts is such that the amount of data for a region (or rather a centre) is proportionate to its political importance and dominance over other areas. Linguistic characteristics of minor kingdoms are not represented. It is not until vernacular writing re-emerges after the Conquest that we have any surviving data to represent the linguistic variety of the South-East Midlands.

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2 The Middlesex volume includes Westminster but does not include the City of London.

3 See chapter 2, section 2.2.6 for an assessment of Ek's contributions.

4 In recent years, there has been an attempt at providing a data-derived classification of Old English dialects. Peter Kitson has published a series of articles, e.g.: Kitson 1990, 1992a,b, 1993a,b, 1995, in which he examines a number of variables (from phonology, morphology and lexis) and shows their distribution on maps. He concludes “that the supposed impossibility of Old English dialect mapping is an illusion of scholarship” (Kitson 1995: 46). He argues elsewhere, (Kitson 1993a: 34), that “the evidence exists, if used properly, to place Old English literary dialects much more closely than hitherto. The picture that emerges in the long run will probably be much more one of local variation as in Middle English literary dialects and much less one of kingdom-wide standards than appears generally in scholarship at present.”



### 1.1.2 Aims

A large-scale project into early Middle English linguistic variation, with the aim of producing a Linguistic Atlas of early Middle English (henceforth LAEME), is at an advanced stage at the Institute for Historical Dialectology at University of Edinburgh (see section 1.2 below). The cataloguing of early Middle English sources (Laing 1993) and the assessment of their usefulness for the investigation of early Middle English dialects (Laing 2000a) have brought a much needed clarification of goals, and the refinement of methodology, for a systematic description of linguistic variation in early Middle English. However, the small quantity of extant sources and the uneven survival of the data is still seen as a problem. “Even when the project is finished, the early Middle English atlas will be patchy in its geographical coverage” (Laing 2000a: 118).

The assessment of early Middle English data has, however, largely ignored one type of evidence, namely onomastics: place names and personal names recorded in various documents throughout the period. This thesis presents a small sample of the data obtained from the corpus, created from the county volumes of the English Place-Name Society (henceforth EPNS). Spelling variation of selected place names has been analysed and the results are presented on maps in the data chapter (chapter 4) of the thesis. These are the first maps of pre-1300 Middle English geographic variation in the South-East Midlands.

The specific objectives of this study are to:

- (1) produce a digital corpus (from EPNS volumes) with search tools for data handling
- (2) to review the whole body of data available in the period 1100-1300 and to select dialect discriminating variables from the data found
- (3) select data items, i.e. place-name elements, that contain the reflexes of the variables chosen for investigation
- (4) extract the data from the corpus into a database and proof-read the results
- (5) sort the data, i.e. group items according to the spelling variants and sub-period in which they are recorded
- (6) map the sorted variants
- (7) analyse the spatial and temporal data distribution to determine whether there are tendencies or patterns of distribution identifiable.

### 1.1.3 Data

The data comes from place names. The material was collected from documents and published in county volumes by the EPNS. “The approach is essentially a practical one:



the kind of material to be utilized here has long been arranged on a county basis. For dialect research pursued on the lines indicated above the county monographs of the English Place-Name Society are the only natural starting-point.” (Sundby 1963: 18). The arrangement forms a grid of geographical locations accompanied by linguistic data that goes back to the eleventh century and earlier. The names are organised into parishes, with parishes grouped into hundreds or half-hundreds. The changes in the spelling of each name, throughout its history, are recorded together with corresponding dates and sources. Places can be plotted on maps using the Ordnance Survey (henceforth O.S.) national grid co-ordinates identified from the *Gazetteer of Great Britain* (1998), and the plotting can be verified against the O.S. maps.

The EPNS was created to serve three main goals (1) linguistic studies, (2) historical studies and (3) practical purposes such as assisting public services, e.g. the Ordnance Survey. The EPNS's data collection was intended to contribute to a “solution of many of our difficult and important linguistic problems. One such problem is that of classification and distribution of the Old and Middle English dialects” (Mawer 1921: 9). By recording the history of names from the earliest records available, the place-name volumes record linguistic changes prior to any subsequent standardisation. This record allows us to analyse developments over time, such as during the Late Old English or early Middle English periods.

The explanations define the source and date of the earliest extant record, and the linguistic, ethnic, historical, geographical and archaeological significance of each place-name both in its immediate context and in a broader view. These volumes enjoy a world-wide reputation for sound scholarship; they have become necessary equipment for both the professional and the amateur historian, geographer, archaeologist and philologist.  
<http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/english/research/EPNS/purpose.htm>[as at 19.07.2004]

## **1.2 Previous Research into early Middle English**

This section is devoted to a summary of the only large scale investigation of linguistic variation of the period from which my onomastic material is drawn. I review it in considerable detail because of its importance. My onomastic investigation will be a complementary contribution to this large scale study. As we will see, for this period onomastic data provides a vital extra resource where linguistic information is otherwise lacking.

The dialectal study of early Middle English as a discrete stage of the history of English was much neglected for most of the twentieth century. However, following the publication of *LALME* (1986) an investigation into early Middle English, based on *LALME* principles,<sup>5</sup> was initiated at Edinburgh University. One of the aims of the project is to produce a Linguistic Atlas of early Middle English (henceforth LAEME). For the last fifteen years, Margaret Laing, the main investigator on the project, has kept us informed about the progress of the task through her publications (for example, Laing 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2000a, 2004).

### 1.2.1 *LALME* principles applied to LAEME

Laing's most up to date account of the progress of the LAEME project is in the paper entitled “*Never the twain shall meet. Early Middle English – the East-West divide*” (2000a). Laing begins by summarising the principles that had been established in the making of *LALME* that she hoped to also adopt for the early Middle English project:

1. Written language (spelling) should be examined in its own right because it has equal status with spoken language, “as source material for linguistic study, ... both are manifestations of an underlying abstract language system.” (Laing 2000a: 98).
2. “Regional dialects do not have strict geographical boundaries” (Laing 2000a: 98), instead they form a continuum of overlapping distributions of variants – “chaque mot a son histoire” [every word has its own history].
3. Unlocalised texts can be located geographically with the help of the 'fit-technique'. The technique depends on building a framework of 'anchor texts', i.e. texts whose provenance is known on non-linguistic grounds. The language of 'anchor texts' provides a dialectal pattern into which a dialect of unknown origin may be fitted. The method is self refining: the larger the number of points in the framework, both the 'anchors' and the texts fitted, the more accurate locating of new texts becomes.
4. Scribal copies can be as useful as authorial texts for studying linguistic variation as long as copying practices are decoded.

When preliminary work towards LAEME began ... we thought the task would be relatively straight-forward. We expected it to be neither so long drawn out, nor so complex a project as the production of its predecessor, the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (*LALME*).

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5 The principles were formulated over the decades of the duration of the project and published in several articles, for example McIntosh 1956, 1963, 1973, 1975, Samuels 1963, Benskin and Laing 1981. Apart from the last one, they all are reprinted in Laing (ed.) 1989. The principles and methods are also summarised in chapters 1, 2 and 3 of vol I of *LALME*.

We were aware that the new investigation would have its own problems and difficulties, but at that stage we felt we knew in principle how a dialect atlas for a past stage of the language could be made. (Laing 2000a: 97-8)

### **1.2.2 The nature of early Middle English dialect material**

The nature of the extant early Middle English material has implications for the production of a dialect atlas for this period. The source, the coverage (of both anchor texts and the texts for fitting) and scribal copying strategies are all unique to this period and require methods and strategies appropriate for the treatment of the material.

#### **1. The time span**

The time span has to be right: if the span is too narrow there is patchy coverage due to data paucity, if the span is too broad, the data may display diachronic variation in addition to diatopic variation. The optimum span seems to be between 100 to 150 years, and for LAEME it is the period between 1150 and 1300, extended to c. 1325 in the North and North Midlands because there is no surviving material before 1300.

#### **2. The sources**

Laing (1991, 1993) assesses the nature and the amount of written English produced after the Norman Conquest. There is a variety of text types, both documentary and literary in early Middle English. Documents include wills, charters and writs; whereas literary texts comprise prose and verse, secular or religious. A very few texts are authorial holographs, most are copies. Some texts are original compositions in English while other ones are translations from Latin or French. There are two problems with the early Middle English data: (1) comparability across text types and (2) the small quantity of material.

#### **3. The coverage**

For an 'ideal historical atlas' one requires an even spread of informants across the area investigated. These texts should abound in linguistic items that are good dialectal discriminants, i.e. that show many variant forms across the continuum. The early Middle English period is not ideal for making a linguistic atlas because the sources are distributed unevenly both in space and time. Some areas are covered only at the early stage, whereas their neighbouring areas yield information only at a later period. Other areas have no surviving witnesses at all. "We therefore have considerable gaps in both the space continuum and in the time continuum – on both diatopic and diachronic axes" (Laing 2000a: 104).

#### 4. Anchor texts

The 'fit-technique' relies on 'anchor texts': documents that are dated and localised on non-linguistic grounds. The *Catalogue of sources for a linguistic atlas of early medieval English* (Laing 1993) lists just over thirty texts potentially usable as anchors. Their distribution is shown on Map 1 in Laing 2000a (p. 104). Unfortunately, it is not enough for a text to have known provenance to be useful as an 'anchor'. For example, charters in extant cartularies from the period, although localisable, remain in what is basically Old English, the unchanged language of much earlier exemplars. "Most commonly the scribes ... have not created early Middle English versions." (Laing 2000a: 105). When the unhelpful texts are discounted, the early Middle English "matrix" has only sixteen documentary anchor texts. Map 2 (Laing 2000a: 106) shows how unevenly they are distributed: most notably, there are no points on the "matrix" from the Central Midlands across to the North. The situation is helped to some extent by the inclusion of literary manuscripts with local associations and other literary texts fitted on linguistic grounds, as shown on Map 3 (Laing 2000a: 107). The task of fitting texts is aided by the existence of the continuum for the following period, displayed in *LALME*. However, even when all the material is processed and fitted there are likely to be gaps in the coverage and breaks in the dialect continuum of early Middle English.

#### 5. Scribal copying strategies

Scribal output varies widely in early Middle English. Some writing systems give the impression of being highly systematic, for example Orm's spelling system. Some have even been classified as "literary standard", for instance AB language.<sup>6</sup> Others, such as the writing of scribe A, or scribe D of MS B.14.39 (323) Trinity College (Cambridge) are "widely profligate, variable and rich" (Laing 1999: 254). Nevertheless, all types of writing strategies encountered are systematic and can be decoded, as demonstrated by Laing (1999). Early in the period, fewer texts seem to be translated by scribes into their own language variety compared to texts copied in Late Middle English. This results in more texts with mixed language, called linguistically composite texts. However, as there are so few early Middle English informants, the ones that display mixed language cannot be discarded. Instead, more analytical work must be done in order to decode layers of language found in a text, some of which represent genuine regional usage. Laing 2004 offers an in-depth analysis of scribal copying strategies found in the texts she has studied for LAEME.

Fortunately, in recent years, there has been a reassessment of linguistic variation encountered in scribal texts (Lass 1997: 101ff). Clark (1992c) argues successfully that

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6 However, see Black (1999), Laing (2000a) and Smith (2000) for a different opinion.

the notion of a “confused Norman scribe” is a myth that reflects a state of confusion of modern scholars rather than the situation in 13th century England. Fleischman (2000) traces the roots of the practice of “bashing the scribe” for failing to produce stable and homogeneous language samples.<sup>7</sup> Laing argues “[b]ut for the dialectologist, whose breath of life is linguistic variation, the work of each individual scribal witness should be respected ... We have to seek to interpret what the scribe himself actually wrote” (1999: 261).

## 6. Conclusion

LAEME is a different kind of project from its predecessor, *LALME*. *LALME*'s theoretical principles still apply but the nature of the data requires new methods, for which see below. The coverage is likely to remain patchy but a dialect atlas format is still a good way to display the data even if there is no unbroken continuum. An atlas is going to be the most appropriate format in which to compare (1) variants recorded for early Middle English across the geographic dimension and (2) early Middle English data with the data from *LALME*. The latter will reveal a continuum along the temporal axis for the first time in the history of medieval English dialectology.

### 1.2.3 LAEME methodology: Computer-based analysis

Two factors had to be taken into account when planning LAEME methodology. Firstly, the complexity of the source material for the period 1150-1325 (see sections “The sources” and “Scribal copying strategies” above); and secondly, the nature of linguistic change at that time; that is rapid loss of inflections, grammaticalisation of word order, language borrowings from Old Norse as well as the differences in the implementation of the changes in different areas.

The unique socio-linguistic historical context for LAEME led researchers to abandon the Linguistic Questionnaire format applied in the making of *LALME*. The investigation started with a provisional questionnaire but with so many variables to consider, it quickly became over-complex (for example in the case of the inflectional endings undergoing the process of levelling) and its intricacy obliterated its usefulness. As Laing explains:

The operational difficulty in noting each form and function of a word separately is compounded if one also tries to record separately its inflexional endings for comparison with others used in the same function. In formulating the EME questionnaire, we were interested in other points of comparison which might have regional or temporal significance: (a) orthographic peculiarities, e.g. the proportion

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<sup>7</sup> Fleischman's terms of reference are those of Old French but the parallels between French and English historical linguistics are obvious.

of use of þ, ð or some other letter for initial, medial or final [θ] [ð]; (b) phonological categories, e.g. what spellings are used for OE long or short y in e.g. *fire*, *pride*, *hill*; (c) morphological segments such as the prefixes *be-*, *to-*, *for-* or the suffixes *-lic*, *-isc*, or *-nes*, and (d) the proportion in a text of words of Norse origin. If *all* this potentially significant information is to be noted, a single word or morpheme in the text may have to be recorded in a number of different places in the questionnaire.

It was apparent early in the investigation that the method of 'analysis by hand' described above was totally impractical. (Laing 1994: 126)

To address this problem, Keith Williamson devised bespoke computer programs that enable processing of the early Middle English texts (Williamson 1992/3). The processing is done in six stages; for detailed illustration see Laing 1994 (127-40). In summary, they are as follows:

1. a *diplomatic transcript* of the original text onto a computer disk (see Laing 1994, Table 1 p. 128).
2. a *tagged text*: for each item (a word or a morpheme which constitutes a single output) the tag includes both a lexical element and a grammatical element. The lexical element is usually the Modern English equivalent of the item tagged. If that is not available, some form of the Old English etymon is usually used. The grammatical element gives a grammatical or functional description in terms of traditional parts of speech: for example, noun, verb, preposition etc. (Laing 1994, Table 2 p. 129). The tagged text is generated by the program TAGGER, which accesses a dictionary built up from previously tagged texts and checks whether a form is already stored in the dictionary. If it is, TAGGER automatically assigns the same tag to the item; if there are many options to choose from, TAGGER asks the human operator which tag she wants to choose, or in case of a completely new form, it asks for a tag to be supplied (Laing 1994, Table 3 p. 132-3). All the transcription and tagging is done in ASCII code in order to minimise difficulties while transferring data. Once a text is tagged it has to be carefully proof-read and edited to eliminate possible human or machine errors; a clean tagged text can be input into different programs to produce required output.
3. a *text dictionary* or *text profile* is created by a program called BASEMAKER. A text dictionary is organised by tags. Each tag appears on a separate line and is followed by the forms of the item, each form is followed by a number of occurrences of the form in the text (Laing 1994, Table 4 p. 135). Text dictionary (text profile) format is used for the analysis and mapping programs. The most useful and interesting dialect discriminants will be selected for entry on dialect maps for the atlas.
4. PROFILER is a program which creates an *item profile* – a dictionary of forms for an item collected from all the texts in the corpus. When an item is attested 10 or more times it is processed by a frequency profile which calculates a form's relative



frequency compared with the other forms for that item. Majority forms, i.e. forms that occur more than 50% of time in a text are marked off in a different way than minority forms that are present between 20% and 50%; rare forms, attested below 20% of time are indicated in a yet different way (Laing 1994, Table 5 p. 137-8).

5. ITEM LISTER produces an *item list* of all the forms of each item in each text and calculates how many forms there are in each text (Laing 1994, Table 6 p. 139). Each form is then listed separately and the output shows how many times a given form was attested. An accompanying graph (histogram) is another way of showing the proportions of forms.
6. generating maps, either with a program called DOTMAKER to show the geographical distribution of selected features, or with TEXTMAPPER<sup>8</sup> to produce maps equivalents to item maps in *LALME*.

The advantages of tagging are in the longer term very considerable. Once the transcription and tagging are done and the texts established in a data corpus they are immediately and constantly available to be reformatted or processed and compared in many different ways for a number of purposes. Not all the material will turn out to be of use for dialectal work. But the implementation of the computer-based approach has benefits far beyond the immediate objectives of a dialect atlas. It provides for every text a complete inventory of its linguistic forms and their functions. This large body of data can be made available in a form suitable for further research, whether strictly linguistic or in other disciplines - literary, textual or historical. The labour of linguistic trawling is ours but the catch may be enjoyed by everyone. (Laing 1994: 140)

Achievements up to date are remarkable. To date, LAEME includes over 300 tagged texts, which provide 159 different language types, 109 of which have been mapped, at least provisionally.<sup>9</sup> One must not forget that the project's results go beyond the production of an atlas. For example, new textual readings have been revealed by the detailed analysis and tagging of texts (Laing 1998a,b,c, 2001). Methodology for analysis of linguistically composite texts has been further refined (Laing and McIntosh 1995, Laing 2000b). New understanding of the complexities of early Middle English writing systems has been achieved (Laing 2004). Some traditional accounts of early Middle English developments have been questioned (Lass and Laing 2005). The first glimpses of early Middle English language continuum have appeared (Laing and Lass 2003). Most importantly, an extensive corpus of early Middle English texts is at an advanced stage of preparation, equipped with lexico-grammatical tags and search tools that will be made available for further research.

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8 The names of the programs change from time to time, the names TAGGER, BASEMAKER, PROFILER, ITEM LISTER, DOTMAKER and TEXTMAPPER used in 1994 have changed; they are used above because they appear in the article to which references are made (Laing 1994) that describes the methods employed in LAEME project.

9 Compared with over two thousand viable manuscripts that were used in the making of *LALME*.

However, the LAEME approach is limited to showing the language of places where there are extant literary sources localised either as anchor texts or fitted with the help of the 'fit-technique'. This coverage may be further improved with the application of *compFT*, i.e. the 'fit-technique' as a computer algorithm developed by Williamson (2000) from earlier notes and drafts by Michael Benskin. *CompFT* projects from a given data-point into adjacent areas of a map where no linguistic information is available, thus extending the coverage. Unfortunately, in some parts of England there is no writing preserved at all during the early Middle English period (Laing 2000a), and these pockets, for want of data, will remain blank for the time being. Therefore, it is especially important to make use of all the additional types of data, such as onomastic data, to help fill the gaps in literary and documentary evidence.

### 1.3 Summary

Chapter one above gives the orientation of the thesis. The first section introduces the geographic area, period, the aims of the project, and the data used. The broad aim of the study is to contribute to the historical dialectology of English; and more precisely, to the description of early Middle English dialect features in the South-East Midlands. Unsatisfactory accounts of regional variation have determined the selection of the period and the area. The investigation focusses on six East Midland counties: Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire with Ely, Essex, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Middlesex. The data, extracted from a corpus of place names, is mapped and analysed in order to determine patterns of distribution of variant for a selected number of features.

The second section gives a brief summary of previous work in the area of early Middle English dialectology. A systematic study of regional variation in early Middle English based on modern principles is less than twenty years old. There is one major project under way: LAEME, and the publication of its findings are eagerly anticipated. It involves processing electronically all the available documentary and literary sources, from the period 1150 to 1325, aiming towards the production of a linguistic atlas of early Middle English. Like *LALME*, its predecessor, LAEME carries out the analysis of written language prior to phonological or phonetic interpretation of it. LAEME uses the 'fit-technique' for placing texts of unknown provenance into the framework created by anchor texts, documentary and literary texts localised on non-linguistic grounds and the later continuum displayed in *LALME*. All available texts are utilised. Although based on the same general principles as *LALME*, LAEME is a different kind of project due to the specific nature of the extant data: its paucity and uneven geographic coverage. It is expected that there will be gaps in the language continuum in the early Middle English atlas when all the data is included.



## 2 The Use of Onomastic Data

### 2.1 Introduction

The term onomastics refers to the study of names. Some names are place names (toponyms) while others are personal names (anthroponyms). Place names can be divided into two main types: habitative and topographical (Cameron 1996: 25).<sup>10</sup>

- Habitative place names denote inhabited places: abodes, fortified places, enclosures, or types of farms. Typically, words that describe the type of habitation appear as the second elements of place names. The Old English words: *-hām* (homestead, estate), *-tūn* (farm, village) or *-wick* (farm, centre of production) are used this way. They are preceded by a first element, usually a descriptive word.
- Topographical place names describe terrain and landscape features, natural or man-made, for example: marshes, rivers, hills, valleys, burial mounds or clearings. Old English had a vast topographical vocabulary. The original Old English words usually denoted specific distinctive features, e.g.: *cumb* and *denu* were names for different kinds of valley – *cumb* was used to describe relatively short or broad valleys, whereas *denu* referred to relatively long, narrow ones (Gelling 1984). There were many different names for different types of landscape features, for example, *hill*, *dūn*, *beorg*, *hlāw*, *hōh*, *brycg*, *ora* or *scelf* were among many names given to different types of hills (for details, see Cameron 1996 chapter 16).

The division into topographical names as opposed to habitative names was not always clear cut. A topographical feature could be used in a habitative sense in a name. When somebody settled 'by the ford' or 'on a hill' they adopted the name of that feature for their settlement; less often, a settlement feature could become a landmark and function as a landscape feature, for example a distinct 'fortified house' or a unique 'white church'.

From early on in Old English, place names typically appeared as two-element compounds. Simplex names (single-element names), being less distinctive, were used less frequently. Generic habitative or topographical words were usually preceded by specific qualifying elements. The first element could be a personal name or a group name, a descriptive word denoting situation, size, shape, type of crop, vegetation or an

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<sup>10</sup> There is a third and small but important category of group or tribal names that gave names to districts the groups came to inhabit (Cameron 1996: 26).

animal. Combinations of more than two elements could also occur, although less frequently (Smith 1956 vol. I: xxiii ff. and Cameron 1996: 28).

In terms of importance, place names can be divided into major name types, e.g.: regions, mountains and rivers and large settlements such as towns and cities; and minor name types, e.g.: farms, field names, local landmarks, streets and other features of town-scape. By the Middle English period major name types were relatively stable and satisfactorily recorded. Minor name types, by contrast, were just beginning to be recorded and continued to evolve.

Anthroponyms or personal names were distinctive names (idionyms) given to individuals from early Germanic times. By early Middle English the system had begun to change and during the Late Middle English period it developed towards the modern system. In the new system, an individual had the first or given name (baptismal name) and the second name which helped to identify the possessor “in genealogical, residential, occupational or characteristic terms” (Clark 1992b: 553). This second name, in time, became a hereditary family name. The complexities of the evolution of the system will not be discussed here; Clark (1992a,b) offers an introduction to the history of English personal names.

A small number of place-name elements appeared as elements of topographical by-names (a subcategory of anthroponyms), for example: *X atte melne* 'X at the mill'. They are topographical terms preceded by a preposition such as *at*, *by*, *of*, *on* usually followed by a form of the definite article. Such words as *melne* are included in the data because until the fourteenth century (Clark 1992b: 574) they were perceived as common nouns in descriptive phrases of adverbial type rather than functionally specialised name elements. Being still morphologically transparent as common nouns makes them an important element of my investigation; where such elements appear in compounds with other major category words it is harder to argue for their continued morphological transparency.

Place names can be researched from many angles: history, archaeology, ethnography or linguistics. They can be approached either as separate fields or in an interdisciplinary way. For example, a study of place names focussing on language contact may involve all the above mentioned fields. A discrete linguistic study of place names may emphasize different aspects of grammar, such as phonology, inflectional morphology, word formation, or vocabulary. A review of possible fields and ways of studying place names goes beyond the scope of this thesis. A new edition of *English Place Names* by Cameron (1996) provides an up to date introduction to the study of place names and a useful bibliography section.

Place names are dialectal in origin. Inhabitants of different parts of England used their own variety of English: their everyday local vocabulary and grammar for naming purposes. Because of this dialectal origin, place names offer potential evidence: the linguistic development of the elements which compose them. This application of place names had been recognised by the beginning of the twentieth century. In the *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names* (1925) Wyld and Serjeantson contributed a chapter entitled “Place-Names and English Linguistic Studies”. They argued that “an investigation of the distinctive dialect features displayed by the forms of p.n. [place names] recorded during the ME period or earlier” (1925: 134) could yield important and valuable dialectal information.

## 2.2 Place-Name Studies and Middle English Dialectology

Early work in English historical dialectology includes research on the geographical distribution of individual dialect features in Old English and Middle English established on the basis of place-name data and published as numerous articles and monographs. This section offers a brief description of selected place-name studies by a few pioneers, chosen for their contribution to the study of phonological characteristics of Middle English dialects. Ekwall, Wyld, Brandl, Heuser, Reaney, Serjeantson, and Mackenzie all produced seminal works in the first decades of the twentieth century. Bohman has been selected from the 1940s as an example of a county monograph. Arngart made significant contributions by instigating systematic country-wide onomastic research, which was taken up by Kristensson. Sundby is an important figure not only for his Worcestershire monograph but also for his theoretical contributions. Ek's monographs are examples of regional studies done in the 1970s. In addition to research in the area of phonology, there have been numerous contributions to other aspects of medieval dialectology. For example, Fellows Jensen stands out for her research on Scandinavian settlement.

### 2.2.1 Wyld

In 1914 Wyld published an article in which he presented the results of his investigation of the development of the reflexes of OE *ȳ* in common words found in onomastic data. Old English words with the vowel in question included: *brycg* 'bridge', *byrig* 'bury', *hyll* 'hill', *hyrst* 'hurst, copse', *hȳp* 'landing place, harbour', *mylen* 'mill', *mynster* 'minster', *pytt* 'pit', and others. These words appeared as place-name elements in medieval documents from the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries. In addition to documentary texts,

Wyld analysed literary texts that were both localisable and datable. His study covered the whole of England. Wyld's motivation was to contribute new data in support of a more complex view of the development of Old English *ȝ* than had been previously accepted.

The article comes in two parts. Part I deals with twenty-one Old English *ȝ* words in twenty-seven counties of the North, the Midlands and the South-East of England, which are arranged into seven areas. Wyld found “a pretty definite grouping” (1913-14a: 4) of these counties into “three great dialect areas” (1913-14a: 45) based on spelling types: area A with <u> spelling, B with <i> spelling and C with <e> spelling. Members of each group are geographically contiguous:

- A has <u> and covers areas I-IV (West Midlands and Central Midlands)
- B has <i> and covers areas V-VI (the North, North-East Midlands and East Midlands)
- C has <e> and covers area VII (the South-East and East Anglia with the exception of Norfolk which with majority <i> spellings he places in group B)

He also observed that there were large transitional areas on the borders between <u> and <i> areas and between <i> and <e> areas. This was a new contribution to the subject of OE *ȝ*.

The southern counties are discussed in Part II (Wyld 1913-14b), in which Wyld adopts a different style of presentation, which in fact brings into question the “three great dialect areas”, by introducing several sub-divisions. Wyld focuses on a context-sensitive development in the seven southern counties: Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Hampshire and Berkshire. In Middle English, <i> spellings seem to be more common in words where OE *ȝ* appears before “front” (i.e. palatal) consonants, for example in *brycȝ* 'bridge', *brycȝ* 'ridge' or *mycel* 'big, great'. In other contexts <u> spellings are more frequent than <i> spellings; although the latter are also present in significant numbers. This led Wyld to a conclusion that unrounding of OE *ȝ* must have “developed independently in the S.[outh]-West, and that the starting point was Devonshire” (Wyld 1913-14b: 150). This was a new contribution to Middle English dialectology, resulting from an onomastic study.

In 1920 Wyld published another article entitled “South-Eastern and South-East Midland dialects in Middle English”. In it, he discusses twenty-one language features of a diagnostic nature which he calls “tests of dialect”. Wyld admits that there could be other tests i.e. other diagnostic features, but the ones he chooses seemed to him “most

important in relation to the dialects of the area under discussion” (1920: 114). Thus, he focuses on the development of the reflexes of: (1) OE *ǣ*, (2) OE *eald-* (or *ald-*), (3) OE *ear* + cons., (4) OE *ǣ<sub>1</sub>*, (5) OE *ǣ<sub>2</sub>*,<sup>11</sup> (6) OE *ēo*, (7) OE *ēo*, (8) OE *io-i* (*i*-umlaut of *io*), (9) OE *ȳ*, (10) OE *ȳ*, (11) OE *ēa*, (12) OE *ēa-i* (*i*-umlaut of *ēa*), (13) OE *ēa-i* (*i*-umlaut of *ēa*), (14) OE 3rd sg. ind. suffix, (15) OE ind. pl. suffix, (16) OE past. part. of strong verbs: suffix and prefix, (17) OE infinitive suffix, (18) OE pres. part. suffix, (19) occurrence of pronoun *hes*, *is* for *them*,<sup>12</sup> (20) OE forms of 3rd pers. plural pronoun other than the particular forms referred to in (19), (21) OE pres. pl. of *to be*. The first thirteen points deal with the development of OE vowels and the remaining seven points investigate morphology: inflection and pronoun developments.

Wyld (1920) presented arguments for the revised provenance of the dialect of the *Bestiary* and *Genesis and Exodus*. Earlier attempts had placed their language in East Midlands, and *Genesis and Exodus* more precisely in South Suffolk. On the basis of his onomastic and literary “tests” (criteria), Wyld concluded that the *Bestiary* and *Genesis and Exodus* belong to the dialect of Norfolk, “and rather to the north of that county” (1920: 127). Interestingly, in her *Catalogue of sources for a linguistic atlas of early medieval English* Laing (1993) assigns their language to West Norfolk. With further refinement, Laing provisionally places the *Bestiary* in Swaffham (Nat. Grid 579 307) and *Genesis and Exodus* in Castle Arce Priory (Nat. Grid 582 312). Wyld also provisionally placed the dialect of *Vices and Virtues*. He thought it belonged to Essex and more precisely to the Saffron Walden area. “This position, close to the borders of Herts. to the south-west and Cambs. to the north, would account for the particular combination of the dialect features exhibited by the text” (1920: 133). Laing places *Vices and Virtues* in Essex near Waltham Abbey (Nat. Grid 547 207),<sup>13</sup> close to the Hertfordshire border but away from the Cambridgeshire border.

11 I am following the English nomenclature, e.g.: Crawley (1986) or Hogg (1992a §5.79 (1)). OE *ǣ<sub>1</sub>* is used for the sound that develops from WGmc \*/a:/ and OE *ǣ<sub>2</sub>* for the development of OE /a:/ from Gmc \*/ai/. Gmc \*/a:/ developed into *ǣ* in West Saxon, whereas in Anglian and Kentish *ǣ* was raised to *ē*; OE *ǣ<sub>2</sub>* obtained in West Saxon and Anglian dialects and resulted from *i*-umlaut of earlier OE /a:/, which in turn came from Gmc \*/ai/. *ǣ<sub>1</sub>* and *ǣ<sub>2</sub>* is found in late WS; Anglian had *ǣ* (*ǣ<sub>2</sub>*) of one provenance only and late Kentish (from about the first half of the ninth century) had *ē* only due to raising of *ǣ* regardless of its origin (see Hogg 1992a §3.24 note 1 and §5.190-191).

12 Wyld seems to attribute forms *hes* and *is* to OE; however according to the OED they are first attested in writing in 1175 in the *Cotton Homilies*.

13 Placed in November 2001, the location of the two texts may be further refined in the process of fitting texts for LAEME.

Oakden saw a connection between Wyld's contribution and later work:

Professor Wyld alone had attempted to tackle the problem [of dialect tests – EM] seriously; by the use of place-name statistics he sought to find a new basis for dialectal study. ... Brandl, Ekwall, Jordan, Reaney and Miss Serjeantson have all shown the importance of Professor Wyld's work by what they themselves have accomplished after him. (Oakden 1930: 6)

### 2.2.2 Ekwall

Ekwall investigated place names, personal names, early surnames and street names (for example, 1922, 1928, 1940, 1947). It is impossible to summarise all his contributions to English historical dialectology based on onomastic sources. Smith pointed out that these contributions, spread over a period of forty years, rightly made Ekwall “the accepted leader in English place-name studies” (1956 vol. I: X). The brief selection that follows here focuses on a few pieces of Ekwall's early research, where theoretical and methodological issues are related to the data. Ekwall (1913 [1963]) advocated the use of place names as an aid, or resource (ein Hilfsmittel), for the study of the history of English. In a practice typical of the period, he selected six linguistic features from Old English that showed different developments in different geographic areas in Middle English. The features in focus were (1) the development of OE *ā*, (2) the development of OE *ǣ*, (3) the lengthening of *ī* and *ū* in an open syllable, (4) *ow* > *aw*, (5) OE *ȝ* between velar (i.e. back) vowels, and (6) the development of the dative plural marker *-um*. His selection of place-name data from the end of the twelfth century to the end of the fifteenth century aimed to trace the developments of different forms and, where possible, to establish boundaries between different dialects. The onomastic results largely agreed with the earlier results established from literary data. Ekwall proved his point that place names are a viable source of dialectal data.

In *Contributions to the history of Old English dialects* (1917) Ekwall used Middle English place-name evidence to investigate two phonological features of Old English. He turned to place names for evidence on Old English dialects due to the lack of literary data. The research covered the whole of England and Scotland; in Scotland, Cumberland, Westmorland and Durham there were no early forms, however.

The data section of chapter one sets out to test the hypothesis that West Germanic *a*<sup>14</sup> followed by *l* and another consonant underwent diphthongisation, or breaking to *ea* in the

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14 *a* was fronted to *æ* as a result of the first fronting (Hogg 1992a).



areas occupied by Saxon and Kentish tribes, whereas undiphthongised *a* continued to be used in Anglian territory. The evidence comes from place names containing the following Old English words: *c(e)alc* 'chalk', *c(e)ald* 'cold', *c(e)alf* 'calf' (also the personal name *C(e)alf*), *g(e)alga* 'gallows', *(e)ald* 'old' (also the personal name *Ealda*), *h(e)ald* 'hold', *w(e)ald* 'wold'. The data shows that there are few counties where *ea*-forms appeared exclusively; most frequently, both *a*-forms and *ea*-forms are found side by side in Middle English place names. Ekwall concluded that *ea*-spellings seem to correspond to etymologically obscure Middle English words, whereas *a*-spellings were found in etymologically transparent words. With many caveats about the dangers of using place names "wrongly", Ekwall established a boundary between Saxon-Kentish and Anglian territory. His "*ea*-area corresponds remarkably closely to the Saxon-Kentish territory established by Brandl and Oman" (Ekwall 1917: 38), which Oman established for Old English dioceses of c. 780 AD on the basis of "Taxatio Ecclesiastica", a document dated to 1291. Subsequent research reached different conclusions (see below, and also section 2.3.2, p. 37).

The status of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire with regard to Old English breaking was taken up by researchers subsequently. Serjeantson (1922) concluded that onomastic data from the 8th and 9th century charters contained only *a*-forms. This was the original spelling type in the area. The 10th century scantier material contained only *ea*-forms, which in the light of later evidence, she explained in terms of West-Saxon scribal influence on a non-West-Saxon territory.<sup>15</sup> Sundby investigated Middle English dialect material of Worcestershire and thought (1963: 169ff) that the Middle English data on its own did not offer conclusive results about the situation in Old English. All his Middle English data contained *a*-forms, and later Middle English sources *o*-forms, which presuppose *ā* that underwent rounding and raising to *ō*, e.g.: *ald* > *old*. Sundby (1963: 171) thought that the earliest forms of personal names offered more reliable information: "[w]hether OE broken forms were used exclusively or alongside of unbroken forms, it is impossible to decide, however."<sup>16</sup>

15 In his summary of the relevant Old English literary data, Hogg (1992a: 83 §5.15) states: "In the North and Midlands there was a single *a*-dialect whereas in the South there were originally two sub-dialects, an *a*-dialect and an *ea*-dialect. Gradually, however, the *ea*-dialect encroached on the *a*-dialect, although the geography of the change remains obscure."

16 For a different interpretation see Kristensson (1987: 118) "Ekwall (*Contributions to the history of Old English dialects*) has shown that Ox, Gl and (the major part of) Wo were *ea*-areas. Sundby 1963, pp. 169 ff., espouses Ekwall's view as regards Wo". The interpretation of the extant data is not easy. The status of *a*-forms on presumed Saxon territory in Old English has been discussed extensively, for example see Hogg (e.g.: 1988 and 1992a), and references to other scholars there.

In fact, Ekwall's additional data (1917 chapter 2), the Middle English place names with the element 'well' in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, show the absence of fractured forms of 'well' prior to *i*-umlaut. This may be taken as further indication that these two counties were not (West-) Saxon linguistically.<sup>17</sup>

Another contribution by Ekwall entitled "The Middle English  $\bar{a}/\bar{o}$ -boundary" (1938) further highlights the value of onomastic evidence, namely fine level linguistic details with unambiguous geographic and chronological placing that were not obtainable from literary texts or documents available for dialectal research at that time. The paper appeared shortly after the publication of "Middle English dialect characteristics and dialect boundaries" by Moore, Meech and Whitehall (1935). They selected suitable literary and documentary Middle English texts and investigated several variables, including the development of Old English  $\bar{a}$  (*brad*, *stan*, *gat*). They concluded that Old English  $\bar{a}$  was rounded and raised to  $\bar{o}$ , for example *stan* > *ston(e)*, *brad* > *brod* (*broad*) south of the Humber-Ouse-Wharfe-Lune line, whereas north of that line  $\bar{a}$  remained initially unchanged.<sup>18</sup>

17 Where umlauted, *ea* appeared as *ie* in West Saxon. The corresponding form in Kentish was *e*, and (unfractured) *a* gave  $\text{æ}$  in Anglian, see Hogg (1992a: 128 §5.79 (2a)). Therefore, the distribution of *ie*-forms should theoretically, give further clues to the presence of fractured *ea* forms at an earlier stage. Ekwall's data (1917 chapter 2) came from Late Middle English place names with 'well', which contained the reflexes of Old English *wiell*(-a, -e), *wæll*(-a, -e), *well*(-a, -e). <a> spellings occurred predominantly in Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Lancashire (south of the Ribble), and occasionally in south-west Yorkshire and south-west Warwickshire. Contrary to expectations, the results showed high frequency of <e> and infrequent spellings with <a> in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire. In fact, <e> spellings occurred everywhere in the country: in South-West England interchangeably with <i>, <y> and <u>, in the West Midlands alongside <a> and exclusively in East Sussex, Kent, East Midlands, East Anglia and in all the north-eastern counties. Ekwall found the evidence difficult to interpret. He recognised that subsequent changes obscured the results of *i*-mutation in 'well': the West-Saxon *ie* monophthongised to <i>, <y>, <u> or <e>, Anglian  $\text{æ}$  was raised to <e> with the exception of West Midlands. West Midlands, corresponding to Mercian in Old English, showed <a> which, Ekwall believed (1917: 64) resulted from retraction and lowering of  $\text{æ}$ . Furthermore, 'well' was found mostly in non-initial position in compound names and the vowel under investigation may have been reduced as a result of weak stress and spelt with <e>. Altogether, there were too many possible explanations for the widespread occurrence of <e> in place names attested in Late Middle English.

18 Moore, Meech and Whitehall (1935: 33): "Begin at the mouth of the River Lune (North Lancashire) and follow that river upstream to a point near Claughton (North Lancashire), then to turn SE and skirt the western edge of the Pennine outliers in north Lancashire, eventually entering the Ribble Valley near Mitton, on the Lancashire-Yorkshire border. From Mitton follow the Ribble NE. into the Pennines, and continue E. through the Aire Gap so as to enter the Wharfe Valley near Bolton Abbey (Yorkshire). From this point turn down the N. bank of the Wharfe to the Ouse, and follow the E. bank of the Ouse and the N. bank of the Humber to the North Sea at Spurn Point." They add that "... it seems probable that the original boundary followed the north bank of the Ribble down to the Irish Sea, and that the intrusion of the rounded vowel into the coastal plain of North Lancashire occurred after the stabilization of the remainder of the boundary. This at least is the indication of the place names." The place-name results were those of Brandl (1915).



Ekwall had, indeed, established the westernmost  $\bar{a}/\bar{\phi}$  (in Ekwall's notation  $\bar{a}/\bar{o}$ ) boundary on the Ribble in *Place-names of Lancashire* (1922).<sup>19</sup> His 1938 paper presented evidence of  $a$ -forms in place names further south in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire than found by Moore, Meech and Whitehall (1935). Particularly interesting were numerous  $a$ -forms in place names south of the Humber in two of three old divisions of Lincolnshire, namely Lindsey (the northern part) and Kesteven (the south-western division). In West Yorkshire, the Aire valley was an  $o$ -area, whereas the Wharfe-Ouse valley was an  $a$ -area in place names. Ekwall's detailed account is however accompanied by the following caveat: "It is not to be expected that it will generally be possible to draw a definite boundary-line between  $\bar{a}$ - and  $\bar{\phi}$ - districts" (1938: 160) unless it was accompanied by a topographical feature that made communication difficult.

To reconcile his results with those obtained by Moore, Meech and Whitehall (1935), Ekwall suggested that the more northerly scope postulated by them may have been correct for later Middle English times, indicating that  $a$ -area was shrinking. However, subsequent research into the subject found both literary data (*LALME*) and further onomastic data (Kristensson 1967) which confirmed Ekwall's results:  $a$ -forms in Lincolnshire even in the later Middle English.

Ekwall's (1938) data also required re-evaluation of Luick's (1914-21[1964]: §369) dating of the change in the North Midlands. Luick had argued that the change began in the old West Saxon territory and in Kent in the 12th century, and spread from there to the Midlands. The South Midlands underwent the change in the 13th century, and by the first half of the 14th century, the North Midlands (i.e. south Yorkshire) was affected. This was not supported by Ekwall's place-name data. His evidence indicated that "the change of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\bar{\phi}$  took place in Yorkshire and Lancashire as early as the former half of the thirteenth century" (1938: 164-5). He went on to argue that the change occurred at a similar time on the whole territory affected by it: from the South to the North. In a recent study of onomastic data, literary and documentary texts, Liebl (2002: 180) came to similar conclusions.

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<sup>19</sup> Ekwall (1938: 147): "The boundary thus follows the Ribble from its mouth to a little beyond Ribchester, then turns north to the long crescent-shaped ridge called Longridge Fell, along which it runs east to the Hodder, then down the latter to the Ribble."

### 2.2.3 Bohman

Several scholars collected onomastic evidence for the dialect of London in Middle English. Wyld (1913-14a) included London, as part of Middlesex, in his investigation of OE *ȝ* and in later study of twenty-one dialect features (1920), both discussed above. Heuser (1914) focussed on the early (*sic*) Middle English dialect of London recorded in place and personal names in local documents from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while Reaney examined twelfth century and thirteenth century documents mostly of royal authorities (Reaney 1925 and 1926-7). Mackenzie (1928) investigated the City, Westminster and Middlesex dialects as separate entities. A detailed review of these publications can be found in Bohman (1944). To summarise, Bohman (1944: 5) acknowledges these earlier contributions for their “valuable hints [on] how to examine the subject” but at the same time she criticises them for using too little data, especially for early Middle English: “a very important period for the illustration of the official language as distinct from the City dialect” (Bohman 1944: 4). Additionally, she thought Heuser's presentation was weakened by imprecise dating. Reaney used his sources in such a way that he could not separate the official language from that of the City of London; nor could he ascertain whether particular name forms of places outside London, found in London documents, represented the London dialect or the dialect of the locality which they named. Moreover, Mackenzie did not distinguish between local and central London documents; neither did she treat separately different elements. For example, the reflexes of OE *ȝ*, in Middle English differed in development not only from area to area but also from word to word within one geographic area. In summary, Bohman concludes that these earlier approaches could provide only a schematic and imperfect view of the development of the sounds in question. Her own work (see below), by contrast, aimed at presenting comprehensive material.

The need for exhaustive description of dialects of micro areas was recognised early. Serjeantson (1922: 233) called for “very minute investigation of every county or small group of counties, with due regard to the precise geographical situation of every place whose name is used in illustration.” Monographs of Middle English dialects in individual counties began to appear, for example, Bohman 1944, Rubin 1951, Sundby 1963.

#### **Bohman's Criteria and Groupings.**

In her *Studies in the Middle English dialects of Devon and London* (1944), Bohman investigated the dialect of Devon in Middle English from onomastic data. Her motivation

for doing this was the almost complete lack of suitable textual evidence<sup>20</sup> ascribed to Devon at the time she was working. Earlier research, mostly onomastic, that included Devon (Wyld 1913-14b, Brandl 1915, Ekwall 1917, Serjeantson 1922) had been too general in coverage, as it had concentrated on tracing individual linguistic features over large areas of England.

Bohman wanted to ascertain to what extent the spelling of the place names of Devon found in these documents was influenced by the official dialect of London. She initially assumed that the official dialect of the central bureaucracy at Westminster was the same as that of the City of London. However, her place-name data pointed to the existence from early times in the Middle English period, of two different spelling types, one evidenced in the official language at Westminster and the other in the City of London. Thus, as the title *Studies in the Middle English dialects of Devon and London* (1944) suggests, Bohman carried out two separate investigations. The first was an assessment of the differences between the London and Westminster data. The second was a study of the Devon dialect and the influence of the Westminster dialect on it. In both studies, she used the same methodology, based on dialect criteria.

Bohman's analysis focused on the development of reflexes of five Old English features, which she called dialect criteria: OE  $\bar{a}_1$  (WGmc  $\bar{a}$ )<sup>21</sup>,  $\check{y}$ ,  $\check{e}a$ ,  $\check{e}o$ , and the *i*-mutation of  $\check{e}a$  and  $\check{e}o$ . She analysed these dialect criteria in place-name elements according to their position in compound names. Initial elements were most likely fully stressed. Elements in non-initial position might have been weakly stressed or unstressed. Long vowels of initial elements in trisyllabic and longer compounds could have undergone shortening even when under primary stress.

The criteria also took into account phonological context. Elements were grouped according to the following consonant or consonant cluster to assess the influence of the context. Individual place-name elements that developed in unusual or unexpected ways were discussed separately.

In discussing individual cases, Bohman appealed to the presence or absence of 'etymological transparency'. Bohman's most frequent explanation of variable spelling of

20 Bohman (1944: 2) mentions only two late Middle English texts ascribed to Devon, one literary, the romance *Sir Firumbras*, dated to the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the other documentary, the letters of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter, dated between 1447-50. Now see Devon (1) sources mapped, (2) local documents, (3) associated manuscripts, *LALME* vol. I: 187-8.

21 Bohman (1944) labels this  $\bar{a}$  as OE  $\bar{a}^2$  following the Continental tradition. I follow Hogg (1992a), see Footnote 11, p. 17 above.

elements in Devonshire material was that the elements were still in use as common words (1944: 85, 132, 156). Elements still in use as common words were assumed to have been treated by language users as regular elements in the lexicon. They would therefore be subject to the same linguistic rules and processes, including diachronic changes, as the rest of the language. Similarly, they were subject to substitution in newly adopted dialects.

### **Groupings.**

Bohman grouped her place-name elements by the provenance and date of the sources. Documents from London were divided into local and central; those from Devon into local, half-central and central. Place-name forms from each category were discussed separately where the nature of the documents affected overall statistical results, for example, the frequency of occurrence of some elements. Bohman also dealt separately with early Middle English, treating the time from after the Norman Conquest “up to the coronation of Edward I (1272)”, and late Middle English from 1272 up to the fifteenth century (1944: 9) as distinct categories. This temporal categorisation allowed her to distinguish diachronic changes from diatopic variation.

The biggest contribution of the *Studies in the Middle English dialects of Devon and London* was in the collection of data. Bohman compiled an exhaustive body of Devon dialect material, among which there were numerous early records. Her London data constituted a considerable addition to what had been previously published (Heuser 1914, Brandl 1915, Reaney 1925 and 1926-7, Mackenzie 1928). Her thirteenth century evidence allowed her to make new claims about the existence of a separate official Westminster language by the end of the early Middle English period. Overall, her data seems to be complete in the sense that she accessed all the sources she had available and grouped the data for the purpose of analysis as discussed above.

### **2.2.4 Sundby**

*Studies in the Middle English dialect of Worcestershire records* by Bertil Sundby (1963) was an analysis of phonetic and phonemic data from the place names found in official documents relating to Worcestershire. Earlier research into the dialect of medieval Worcestershire had been based on limited data (Ekwall 1917, Serjeantson 1922, Oakden 1930-35 and Moore, Meech and Whitehall 1935) and yielded inconclusive results. No agreement had been reached as to whether the county was in the Anglian or West-Saxon Old English dialect area. As for the Middle English period, the “view most commonly held [was] that Worcestershire was an area of transition between the South-West and the

West Midlands” (Sundby 1963: 3). However, Sundby felt such a description to be vacuous and that further examination was needed to establish a more detailed picture of the Middle English dialects in the county.

Sundby collected common words that appeared as place-name elements in order to trace the development of the reflexes of OE vowels and diphthongs, voicing of /f/ and /s/ in initial position, devoicing of final consonants, processes involving consonant clusters: metathesis, assimilation and insertion; one feature of morphology and syntax, and five points of vocabulary, all grouped under the heading “Various Dialect Features” (1963: 221-52).

The material covered the period from 1100 to 1500 and was subdivided into six short periods: the first from 1100 to 1250 and the remaining five covering the fifty-year periods 1250-1299, 1300-1349, 1350-1399, 1400-1449 and 1450-1499. South and North Worcestershire data was presented separately in each sub-period. The presentation of the data was clear and informative. For each criterion examined, elements that showed variation were listed with the date and source document. The summary of the results was presented in tables “to bring out variation in spelling” and “in order to show how the material is quantified with regard to lexis, period and area, whether or not the orthography tends to be uniform and stable” (1963: 24). It is easy to follow the changes in spelling of the elements tested within the parameters of time, space and compounding.

### **2.2.5 Kristensson**

Gillis Kristensson set out his long-term onomastic project in an article entitled “Another approach to Middle English dialectology” (1965). This onomastic project started in 1959 and was intended as “another approach” to Angus McIntosh’s large scale research, reported in 1963, based on Middle English literary texts (published in 1986 as *LALME*). Kristensson believed that a survey of “fresh material was needed to give a true picture” of Middle English dialects and to “form a basis for localisation of ME literary texts” (Kristensson 1967: X) – the objective mentioned by Wyld fifty years earlier (1913-14a). The project resulted in Kristensson’s five volume *A survey of Middle English dialects 1290-1350* (henceforth SMED 1,2,3,4,5), each volume covering a different region of England. The first volume (henceforth SMED 1) appeared in 1967 and focussed on the six northern counties: Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire and Lincolnshire.

Kristensson has also published many articles (e.g.: 1976, 1981, 1983, 1995b, 1997) on Middle English dialectology and the use of place-name data, especially the Lay Subsidy Rolls (henceforth LSRs), in the investigation of Middle English.

The aim of SMED was to show the development of all Old English vowels and consonants in Middle English on the basis of spellings of surnames and (a smaller number) of place names from the LSRs in the period 1290-1350 and thus to obtain “a true picture” (Kristensson 1967: X) of Middle English dialects. Another aim, expressed at least in the first volume of the SMED, was to complement Orton et al.'s *Survey of English Dialects* (1962-1969) (henceforth SED). Kristensson's research concentrated on phonology and followed the principles laid out by Orton for SED. By starting the survey with the six northern counties and Lincolnshire, Kristensson wanted to match the first publications of the SED.

#### **“The fresh material”.**

Olof Arngart investigated the LSRs in his research towards a three volume *The English Hundred Names* (1934, 1939a,b). He observed that the LSRs covered evenly every village and that the names, dateable and localisable, recorded in them could be used for investigation of dialects. Arngart concluded that the LSRs were a uniform type of document and should represent uniform scribal practices (analysis and comparison could eliminate oddities). The collection of place and personal names found in the LSRs should yield homogeneous material. Following Arngart's recommendation (Arngart 1949) Kristensson set out to collect dialectal data from the LSRs covering the whole of England.

The strength of Kristensson's survey is the thoroughness of his listings from his sources: the materials are available in detail for scholars to use and interpret. Kristensson's own interpretations, however are open to criticism. Some of the points are discussed in section 2.3 below.

#### **2.2.6 Ek**

Two monographs by Ek pursue the geographic boundaries of reflexes of Old English sounds using Middle English place-name evidence in the South-Eastern counties of: Sussex, Surrey, Buckinghamshire, Kent, Middlesex, London, Essex, Hertfordshire Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Norfolk. The first study (Ek 1972) looks at OE *ȝ* and *eo*, the second one (Ek 1975) investigates ME *ā* for *æ* and



OE *ǣ* (*i*-mutated *ǣ*) before nasals. Ek collected onomastic data from 1100 to 1350 in the case of OE *ȝ*, from 1100 to 1500 for *eo*, and from 1100 to 1400 for OE *ǣ* (before nasals) and *æ*.

The material for OE *ȝ* is arranged by the context in which OE *ȝ* appears and by county: Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Norfolk. Summary tables give numbers of different vowel spellings: <e>, <i>, <y> and <u> for each place-name element found in each county. The development of OE *ȝ* in Surrey, Sussex, London and to some extent in Middlesex is summarised on the basis of earlier investigations by Sundby (1950), Rubin (1951), Bohman (1944) and Ekwall (1956). There is no data or discussion of the situation in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire or Huntingdonshire, although the map (Ek 1972: 123) shows the vowel spellings west and north-west of the core area for which data is presented.

The material for OE *eo* comes from Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire. Developments in names in which reflexes of *eo* are followed by *w* are listed separately. Summary tables show the numbers of names with different vowel spellings: <i> (and variations <y>, <ie>, <ye>) and <e>, <ee> (and variations <ei>, <ey>), separately for Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire, and separately for Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire. Additionally, Kent is set apart from the remaining four counties in Table 3.5 (Ek 1972: 90-4). The material with *eo* is divided into two sub-periods: 1100-1300 (or 1340),<sup>22</sup> and 1300 (or 1340)-1500 and simplex names are separated from compounds. The boundaries of the development of OE *eo* to *ie* are shown on map: OE *eo* (Ek 1972: 124).

The material for OE *ǣ* (*i*-mutated *ǣ*) before nasals (Ek 1975) comes from Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, Essex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire. In addition to the above mentioned counties, *ā* for *ǣ* data (Ek 1975) is presented for Buckinghamshire and Huntingdonshire as well. Data from the counties considered the centre of the developments is presented separately and the presentation is followed by a discussion section. Counties on the periphery of the developments are grouped together for data listing and discussion. For each county or a group of counties spellings with <a>

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<sup>22</sup> It is unclear from the table heading (Table 3.5 p. 90) whether 1300 or 1340 is the end date of the first sub-period.

and <e> are summarised separately in fifty-year sub-periods from 1250 to 1350. The period of the last fifty years is subdivided further into “after 1350” and “after 1370”. The area of Middle English *ǣ* for OE *ǣ* (*i*-mutated *ǣ*) before nasals is shown on the map in section 2.10 (Ek 1975: 25). The geographic spread of *ā* for *ǣ* in Middle English is shown on the map in section 3.13 (Ek 1975: 56).

There is a certain overlap between Ek's investigations and the research presented in this thesis. Ek traces the developments, from place names, of two of the four variables investigated in this project: OE /y/ (Ek 1972) and OE /æ:/ (Ek 1975). The summary tables for reflexes of OE *ȳ* are informative because they allow us to trace developments in different contexts. However, the treatment of the period of two hundred and fifty years as a uniform period, particularly when the system is in the process of change, results in a loss of a considerable amount of detail. The data sections in chapter 4 of this thesis shows how much more evidence there is in the 13th century, especially in the period 1251-1300, compared to the 12th century. Ek (1972) includes data from 1300 to 1350, a period which sees further substantial increase in the data quantity. By summing up the numbers of attestations for the whole period, Ek presents distorted results. In the case of the second variable, *ā* for *ǣ* (Ek 1975), there is division into sub-periods in the summary tables; however, it is not clear what the sources before 1235 are. The evidence for the period “before 1250” seems to be collected from Assize Rolls of 1235 and 1248. It is argued in chapter 4 below that the collection of data in the period before the 13th century is crucial for the understanding of the situation regarding *ā* for *ǣ* development in the South-East. Ek gathered a large body of data in his two monographs; unfortunately, the presentation of the data without it being incorporated in a system that allows to locate the names renders the data unusable for a different kind of investigation.

## 2.2.7 Other contributions of onomastic data

Middle English studies done with place-name data have not been limited to phonology. This section mentions some contributions to the study of history of Scandinavian settlement done with onomastic data. Fellows Jensen (e.g. 1972, 1974, 1995) has carried out studies of the distribution of the Scandinavian place names and place-name elements, e.g.: *bý* 'a farm, a village', *thorp* 'a village, a secondary settlement', *toft* 'a piece of ground, a messuage', *thwaite* 'an isolated piece of land', personal-names in place names to establish the geographic spread and density of the Viking settlement following their invasions and colonisation of Britain (from the 8th to the 11th century). There are over

three hundred names derived from *bȳ* and over a hundred from *þorp* recorded in *Domesday Book* in the East Midlands alone (Cameron 1996 chapter 6). On the basis of these place names (in addition to historic records), it is possible to determine which parts of Britain were settled by the Danes and which by the Norwegians. Smith (1956, vol. I) shows the distribution of parish names of Scandinavian origin on map 10 and the distribution of Irish-Norwegian place names, that is names of places settled by Norwegians who came via Ireland, on map 11. Grant (2003) uses place-name evidence to trace linguistic contact and interaction between Scandinavians: Danes and Norwegians, and the local population Celtic and English in Northern Britain following the Scandinavian settlement in that area.

## 2.3 Critique

Much of the onomastic dialectology work described in 2.2 was based on bold assumptions which led to equally strident criticism from both outside and within the field. This dialogue has led to advocating more measured approaches to (1) the goals of onomastic dialectology, (2) the relation between variation in place names and the rest of the lexicon, (3) diachronic variation, (4) the relation between local documents and local pronunciation, and finally, (5) questions whether onomastics is either necessary or sufficient for establishing “a true picture” of Middle English dialects.

### 2.3.1 The perceived object of study in Middle English dialectology

It is well known that in OE, and to a greater extent in ME, the same original vowels and diphthongs developed differently in the dialect of different areas, and this variety in vowel-sounds is reflected in ME, in spelling both of p.n. [place names] and of independent words. These phonological variations, together with others in accent and vocabulary, are recognised as being among the chief characteristics of the regional dialects of ME. (Wyld and Serjeantson 1925: 133)

Middle English dialects were analysed from the data that fall into the period following the Norman Conquest to 1500. The works described in section 2.2 above saw the object of Middle English dialectology as threefold: the establishment of dialect features, mapping their distribution, and drawing dialect boundaries. These aims were common to all linguists working on Middle English dialectology prior to *LALME*, or writing generalisations about Middle English dialects, for example in handbooks of history of English (Mossé 1952[1991], Berndt 1982, Baugh and Cable 1951[1993], Pyles and Algeo 1971[1993]).

### **Dialect features.**

The common starting point for Middle English dialectology in the early- to mid-twentieth century is the establishment of dialect features. Dialect features may be phonetic realisations of phonemes, differences in the lexicon, or features of morphology and syntax. Place-name data lends itself most readily to phonological investigation; variant spellings of Old English phonemes recorded in Middle English place names were assumed to reflect variation in pronunciation. As such they were identified as potentially useful dialect criteria.

Two approaches to dialect features involve, on the one hand, onomastic data collection and analysis for one feature only, and data collection for all the Old English phonemes, on the other hand. Wyld (1913-14a,b) selects one feature, namely OE *ȝ*, and traces its reflexes: <u>, <i> and <e> spellings in the whole of England from all the suitable sources he could find, for the period of 1200-1500 (see section 2.2.1 above for more details). By contrast, Kristensson (SMED 1-5 1967, 1987, 1995, 2001, 2002) collects the spelling of the Middle English reflexes of all Old English vowels, diphthongs and consonants covering the whole of England, albeit from one type of source, LSRs for the period 1290-1350 (see section 2.2.5 above for more details).

There has also been a range of studies that belong between the two extremes exemplified above. Some focussed on the distribution of variants of a few diagnostic features on a large area (Brandl 1915, Wyld 1920, Serjeantson 1927), others did that on a small area (Reaney 1925, 1926-7, Bohman 1944, Ek 1972, 1975). Yet other researchers presented exhaustive accounts of the Middle English reflexes of Old English phonemes on a county level (Rubin 1951, Sundby 1963). Sundby (1963) collected some morphological, syntactic and lexical data in addition to his phonological features (see section 2.2.4 above for more details).

### **Mapping dialect features.**

Mapping out the geographical distribution of dialect feature variants became an important goal for dialectologists who used place-name data. As early as 1922, Serjeantson (1922: 233) called for “very minute investigation of every county or small group of counties, with due regard to the precise geographical situation of every place whose name is used in illustration.”

A range of practices evolved in which the following trend is observable: a trade-off between geographical extent and the number of dialect features. Small area studies focused on the level of detail. The first example of a county monograph, the description

of the dialect of Devon by Bohman (1944) used data from five phonological features of vowels and diphthongs only; however the amount of data accumulated was unmatched by any previous dialectal studies, from any type of sources available (see 2.2.3 above for details). Rubin (1951) gathered onomastic data of medieval Sussex for the realisation of nineteen phonological features, eighteen of vowels and diphthongs and one of consonants. Sundby (1963) collected place-name evidence for seventeen vowel and diphthong features, five consonant features and seven “various dialect features” (see 2.2.4 above for details). He also included seven feature distribution maps; he was the first scholar using onomastic data for dialectal phonological research to present some of his results in map form.<sup>23</sup>

Kristensson (SMED 1-5 1967, 1987, 1995, 2001, 2002) collected surname data (and some place-name data) for the development of all Old English phonological segments: vowels, diphthongs and consonants covering the whole of England. Most of the data comes from one type of source, LSRs for the period 1290-1350. Kristensson produced more feature distribution maps than any other researcher: thirty-two for the Northern counties and Lincolnshire, fourteen for the West Midlands, sixteen for the East Midlands, and twenty-two for the southern counties. SMED shows a trade-off between source variety and time span, and complete geographical coverage with a large number of phonological features tackled.

Kristensson's maps have one shortcoming: it is impossible to relate the data listed in the data section for a given feature with the distribution of the names on the map drawn for that feature. For example, the data section for OE *brycg* 'bridge' in ESS (SMED 3: 58) lists forty-six names. Eleven are identified with the names discussed in the Essex place-name volume (EPNS XII), and thirty-five appear in the LSRs exclusively. Thirty-nine names are mapped on Map 6 (SMED 3: 189); six names with <e> from the data section are missing on the map because they could not be localised (SMED 3: XIV). It is not possible to tell how many names mapped are from the group *atte Bregg*' as opposed to *atte Bregge*, *Bregman*, or *Breggman*;<sup>24</sup> nor do we have a way of finding out the exact locations of the names plotted on the map. An appendix with the national grid co-ordinates for the map section would be of great help. It would, for instance, allow us to place the names within the network of parishes that are the framework for name localisation in the EPNS volumes. While it is true that Kristensson has never set out to produce Addenda to EPNS volumes, he first lists the records for the names that are

23 Apart from maps produced for EPNS volumes, some of which displayed linguistic information.

24 This becomes even more of a problem when the data attest the elements in name-initial and non-initial position.

mentioned in the appropriate county volumes. Without a way of identifying the locations of the remaining names listed, an opportunity has been lost to add to the collections contained in EPNS volumes. Furthermore, the data is inflexible and cannot be easily incorporated in other place-name databases or Middle English dialect projects. This inflexibility is a major concern for a project as labour intensive as SMED.

The practice of mapping dialect features geographically was directed towards the aim of demarcating dialect areas with discrete boundaries.<sup>25</sup> Authors described in section 2.2 above sought to define dialect boundaries with their onomastic data, although rarely did anyone actually draw any cartographic maps of their hypothesised dialects. In fact, it was realised early on that the variants found for each criterion did not appear with the exclusion of one another on any given area. For example, Wyld (1913-14a) found out that with regard to the development of OE *ȝ* the three types of spelling <i>, <e> and <u> almost always co-occurred in his data for any given area. He decided to focus his analysis on the proportions of the various types present rather than the presence of one type of spelling to the exclusion of the others. Likewise, Ekwall (1917) discovered that for Old English breaking there were few counties where *ea*-forms appeared exclusively; most frequently, both *a*-forms and *ea*-forms were found side by side in Middle English place names. It is however surprising that he described a boundary between the *a*-area and *ea*-area, as if against the results obtained (see section 2.2.2 above for details).

The analysis of twenty-one dialect features of the South-Eastern and South-East Midland counties led Wyld to the following conclusions (1920: 143):

In our survey, which extended from S. Lincs. and Hunts. to Ess., Kt., and Surrey, we found not a series of clean-cut, ideally 'pure' dialects, but rather forms passing by gradual degree into different types. If we compare the dialect say of S. Lincs. with that of Kt. we find, indeed two very distinct types, but between those two extremes there are various intermediate types. Between none of these and those in immediate contiguity is there a complete gulf, but rather a gradual transition. ... The apparent sudden breaks only exist if we select as tests one or two isolated features as typical, instead of considering a combination of features.

Similarly, the results of the study of twenty dialect features of the West Midland counties gave Serjeantson the confidence to abandon the notion of dialect boundaries (1927: 57):

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25 This objective was common to all linguists working on Middle English dialectology or writing about Middle English dialects in handbooks of history of English prior to *LALME*, for example: Oakden (1930), Moore, Meech and Whitehall (1935), Mosse (1952[1991]), ME dictionary project – Kurath, Kuhn, Lewis (eds.) (1954-2001) Jordan-Crook (1974); indeed right up to the present time as far as handbooks of history of English are concerned, e.g. Baugh and Cable (1951[1993]).



We may for our satisfaction and for the sake of clearness, draw a definite line between, say, the West Midlands on the one hand and the Central Midlands on the other, but such a line is theoretically impossible, since there is no such thing as a rigid line of division between dialect areas, every dialect is, in fact, a border-dialect, sharing some of the features of the dialects of neighbouring districts.

### **Absence of maps with dialect boundaries.**

These observations must have contributed to the absence of cartographic maps with dialect boundaries in onomastic based dialectal studies. When researchers gathered their data, they could not demarcate discrete dialect areas, instead the data formed a dialect continuum. By contrast, linguists who used literary data drew maps of Middle English dialects because they only had data for isolated features, for example Oakden (1930) or Moore, Meech and Whitehall (1935).<sup>26</sup> The data analysis produced for *LALME* revealed the late Middle English dialect continuum based not only on local documentary materials but also incorporating other much richer resources of the contemporary literary texts. Ongoing work at Edinburgh on *LAEME* will establish the early Middle English dialect continuum as far as possible given the limitations of the surviving data, as explained in chapter 1 above.

### **2.3.2 Place names as a source of dialectal data**

This section starts with the account of two extreme views on the extent to which proper names and common words share diatopic and diachronic phonological variation: (a) they change in identical ways, or (b) that their patterns of variation are unrelated. The remainder of the section presents further practices of onomastic data analysis that were to improve the robustness of onomastic data: (1) the treatment of elements in different positions in compound names, (2) the division of elements into etymologically transparent and non-transparent ones, (3) the special treatment of rare forms, and (4) not overselling the conclusions obtained from place names.

The relevance of onomastics to Middle English dialectology rests on whether variation in the phonology of common words can be inferred from variation in place names. One extreme is to take them as varying identically, another as varying completely

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<sup>26</sup> Wardale (1937) disagrees with assigning dialect boundaries in Middle English. "Geographical boundaries for dialects do not exist; everywhere there must have been areas in which the recognized characteristics of the regions on either side overlapped, South-West into West Midland, Midland into Northern, and so on. In fact, a detailed map should give a finely graded picture in which the characteristics of any dialect merge gradually into those of its neighbour, while they in their turn are gradually absorbed into the next." (1937[1949]: 9). Wardale's map "Position of Middle English dialects" (p.10) shows only approximate dialect boundaries. Also marked are areas of an overlap between dialects; she calls them "buffer states" and they are meant to be showing the "gradual merging of one dialect into another, which is to be assumed everywhere" (p.11).

independently. Dialectologists of Middle English usually regard their object of interest to be “normal” words: common nouns, verbs, adjectives, such as are found in a dictionary. Interesting variation is assumed to be solely the provenance of these words. Onomastics, however, looks at data from a different section of the lexicon: proper names, usually ignored in studies of “normal” language. One source of tension in Middle English dialectology has been the issue of how much proper names are fellow travellers with “normal” words in diatopic and diachronic variation. One bold view says phonological variation applies equally to both groups. At the other extreme is the view that little can be inferred from variation in proper names about changes in “normal” vocabulary.

Early studies of Middle English geographic variation based on onomastic data posed the question whether place names could be reliable dialect informants.

If we can be sure that the record forms of Pl.Ns. [place names] in the documents of the ME. period, represent, approximately the pronunciation within the area, at the time the document was written, this is very important for the investigation of ME. ... If we can once feel that we are on firm ground in using PL.Ns. for this purpose, many fresh possibilities are opened up. (Wyld 1913-14a: 3)

Wyld and Serjeantson compared the results obtained from Middle English place names and from literary data. By 1925 there was enough evidence to claim that elements of place names

... undergo the same characteristic series of sound-changes, isolative and combinative, affecting both the quality and quantity of the vowel-sounds which they contain, and the character of the consonants, as from age to age have modified the sounds of all other words in the language. Apart from the occasional irregular changes introduced by analogy or popular etymology, it may be said that the forms of English p.n. [place names] have a normal and regular phonetic development just as the other words have. (Wyld and Serjeantson 1925: 133)

With the reassurance that elements in place and personal names are subject to the same phonological processes as independent words in Middle English, collecting suitable onomastic data became an accepted practice. Words found in medieval names have since been used as test words for the development of phonological features and dialectal distribution of various sounds in Middle English.

However, the assumption that place names undergo the same changes as the rest of the lexicon is contrasted with doubts about the reliability of place names that have accompanied the history of the study. Cavers (1977) talks about a clash between Wyld and Onions in the early decades of the twentieth century. Concerns continued to be raised (Davis 1968, McIntosh 1969), following the publication of the first instalment of SMED

by Kristensson (1967). Davis (1968) observed that elements of compound names are subject to pressures quite different from those affecting the same words when they function freely in the lexicon. Elements in place names are special category words and “a non-standard, ... specific onomastic, branch of English phonology” has been tentatively suggested (Clark 1992b: 593). Clark explains further:

semantic divorce from common vocabulary lays name-material especially open to phonological change, in so far as shifts and reductions may be unrestrained by analogies with related lexical items and may at times be warped by random associations with unrelated but like-sounding ones. (Clark 1992a: 485-6)

Onomastic phonology would not be identical with general phonology because of the special semantic status of names; it may however be compatible.

### **Not all elements are equal.**

Following the publication of dialectal onomastic results, some linguists challenged the established beliefs about the robustness of onomastic data. It became noticeable that some elements showed variation in spelling better than other ones. Elements in compound names, in particular, came under scrutiny. Researchers recognised that sounds developed differently in stressed position in compound words as opposed to unstressed positions. Some, for example Bohman (1944; see section 2.2.3 above for details), Rubin (1951) or Sundby (1963) analysed separately elements in initial position from elements in non-initial position in compounds. As early as 1917, Ekwall observed that the quality of vowels of elements in unstressed position in compound names may not be satisfactorily determined from the spelling. Overall, not many firm statistical conclusions have been reported however, mostly because elements do not seem to appear in comparable quantities in the two positions distinguished. The fact that they appear predominantly in one position or the other is an interesting tendency, however.

### **Etymologically transparent and non-transparent elements.**

Early observations drawn from onomastic data led to the introduction (by Brandl in 1915) of the distinction into etymologically transparent elements and non-transparent elements. Subsequent researchers have attached a lot of importance to this distinction, usually in the introductory remarks addressing the reliability of the data. The first type of names has etymologically transparent elements, also referred to as etymologically clear elements, i.e. “elements that were easily recognizable” (Rubin 1951: 9). The second type of names has etymologically non-transparent elements, or etymologically obscure elements, i.e. elements that “were not readily understood by alien scribes” (Sundby 1963: 6). This distinction was supposed to ensure that correct local language forms of place-

name elements were collected for analysis, judging by the following remarks by Ekwall, Rubin, Sundby and Ek.

#### Ekwall

Refashioning of place-names was especially liable to take place, if they contained elements that were etymologically transparent, while names that did not would be likely to retain their correct dialectal forms. (1938: 147-8)

#### Rubin

Names containing els [elements] that were easily recognizable are less reliable as test words than such as were more or less incomprehensible to the scribes. (1951: 9)

#### Sundby

In dialect research the most valuable elements are those which were not readily understood by alien scribes. ... Hence the spelling of provincial terms in particular may be expected to reflect local speech, while forms easily identified or associated with words in general use were subject to orthographic normalization. (1963: 6)

#### Ek

The etymology of these names has to be clear, at least with regard to the sound examined. (1972: 8)

[It is important] to distinguish between names and name-elements that are etymologically clear and therefore liable to suffer alteration by scribes having a dialect different from the local dialect; and names and name-elements that are not so readily identifiable by the scribes and therefore are faithfully reproduced in local and other sources alike. (1972: 9)

In practice however, none of the above researchers grouped the data in terms of the two categories recommended; as it undoubtedly was not a straightforward task to decide which elements were readily understood and “refashioned” by scribes. Rubin (1951) separated his frequent elements from the infrequent ones and postulated that the ones that appeared more commonly were more standardised than the less common ones. By that he presumably implied that the less standardised elements were also less transparent ones. While this would be true about some elements, it cannot be assumed for all.

Some authors used etymological transparency as an explanation of the existence of certain unexpected features. For example, Ekwall (1917), in his study of Old English breaking before *l* followed by another consonant, concluded that *ea*-spellings seem to correspond to etymologically obscure Middle English words, whereas *a*-spellings were found in etymologically transparent words. Bohman (1944) also appealed to the presence or absence of etymological transparency in discussing individual names. Her most frequent explanation of variable spelling of elements in Devonshire material was the idea of elements still in use as common words (1944: 85, 132, 156). As such, they were subject to substitution in newly adopted London and Westminster dialects. Altogether, the notion of etymological transparency has not been a factor in improving the robustness of onomastic data; it has narrowed down the scope of suitable onomastic data sources,

and, as will be argued in 3.3.4 below, could lead to exclusion of a vital category of data, the etymologically transparent words.

The treatment of rare forms of place-name elements is related to the use of place names as a suitable source of dialectal data. In 1917 Ekwall recommended that isolated or infrequent forms cannot be interpreted with certainty, therefore they cannot be used to make firm conclusions. “Quite isolated forms in early records must be used with caution, as they may be mere slips<sup>27</sup> or due to some special circumstances which it is impossible to judge of” (1917: 9). However, when he discovers in his data “a peculiar state of things as regards *a*- and *ea*-forms” he ignores his own advice. “In both counties [Worcester and Gloucester] *a*- greatly predominates” (1917: 34). In fact, there are only two *ea*-forms in Gloucestershire and one *ea*-form in Worcestershire in Ekwall’s data as opposed to numerous examples of *a*-forms (and *o*-forms in his late Middle English data). In the light of his earlier words of caution one would hardly expect the following conclusion: “the preponderance of *a*-forms in Gloucester and Worcester proves that these began at a very early period to supplant the *ea*-forms in the dialects of these counties. It is quite possible that this process began even in OE time.” (1917: 34). His conclusions may have coincided with the details of the language change for that feature; nevertheless, Ekwall did not present solid evidence to prove his hypothesis.<sup>28</sup> Elsewhere, he used the same line of argument to explain an opposite scenario: that the whole of Suffolk is an *a*-area despite the *ea*-forms found in the south of the county and despite his earlier statement “even isolated names ... may as a rule be taken to prove the district in question belonged to the *ea*-area” (1917: 29). Serjeantson (1922) in fact concludes the opposite, classifying Suffolk as an *ea*-area.

Taking rare forms as evidence of a general pattern seems to have been a more widespread problem. Bohman (1944) based her conclusions about the influence of “City pronunciation and spelling” (1944: 14) on the language of the Westminster scribes, on the spelling of one place-name element, namely Old English (West Saxon) *-stræt*. “As

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27 There is no denying the fact that scribes made mistakes; however scribal errors and incompetence have been exaggerated as reasons for discounting scribal evidence. Instead of undertaking meticulous analysis of the only evidence available theorists throughout the twentieth century based the conclusions on select and incomplete data to the detriment of historical linguistics. Fortunately, recent years have seen a reappraisal of the problem as a result of empirical work and better theoretical understanding of the issues involved. (contributions in McCarren and Moffat (eds.) 1998, Fleischman 2000, Laing 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2001, Lass 1997, Ritt 2000.)

28 It may have been another example of ‘the happy guess’, for which Ekwall apparently was known. Smith (1956, vol. I: X) explains: “His contributions to English place-name studies ... brought to the study a mind at once informed and critical and yet inspired by what Sir Allen Mawer often described as ‘the happy guess’ at the solution of a crux, a solution so often proved to be right.”



regards the official language of Westminster authorities it is likely that *e* [as opposed to *a* in the element *stræt*], ... was used to a greater extent than my material can show, as it consists exclusively of City pl-ns". This is just one example of how Bohman ignored negative evidence taking where desired occasional data and claiming that it represented a regular development. This practice clearly constitutes a dangerous over-interpretation of the data against Ekwall's recommendation.

It seems appropriate to close this section with a few words about the strength of the conclusions obtainable from onomastic data. Ekwall (1917: 39) warned that generalisations about the data should be made with caution. Just because particular variation is found in Middle English place names, it cannot be assumed or expected to occur in literary documents of that period.

### 2.3.3 Time span

Two extreme assumptions are contrasted below: one treats 400 years as a uniform period with regard to the operation of phonological change and the other one takes the period of 50 years as a suitable time span. Other issues related to time span follow: taking document dates as dates for the current usage represented by the spelling of a name and the need for interpreting language features in a wider context of time.

In common with all the dialectal research of the early twentieth century, scholars using onomastic data assumed that, or at least behaved as if, there was no diachronic difference during the period 1100-1500. This resulted in the practice of collecting and analysing all the suitable data from the Domesday Book to 1500. e.g.: Heuser (1914), Brandl (1915), Ekwall (1913, 1917, 1938), Wyld (1913-14a,b, 1920), Reaney (1925), Mackenzie (1928), just to name a few. On close inspection it turns out that the data sources usually came from a shorter period but they were assumed to be representative of the whole of Middle English. For example, Wyld (1913-14a) used sources from the period of 150 years although he generalises his results over three centuries (as mentioned in 2.2.1 above).

However, as early as 1922, Serjeantson drew attention to the possibility of diachronic change during the four centuries over which Middle English spanned. Subsequently, linguists employed a variety of practices, with regard to what made a suitable time span for data analysis. The most important suggestion that has emerged is that the time span treated as a unit should be long enough to capture diatopic (regional) variation but not longer than necessary in order to avoid diachronic change being mistaken for diatopic



variation. Bohman (1944) introduced temporal subdivision of her Middle English data into Early and Late Middle English. Sundby (1963) analysed data from 1100 to 1500 but he did not treat four hundred years as one unit. He subdivided it into six sub-periods: the first from 1100 to 1250 and the remaining five covering the fifty-year periods (see 2.2.4 above for details). Most of the data for Kristensson's SMED comes from LSRs for the years 1327 and 1332,<sup>29</sup> though he generalises his results over a sixty-year period: 1290-1350. Ek (1972, 1975) adopted a different approach: he collected onomastic data from the beginning of the twelfth century until the end of the operation of the sound changes he followed (see 2.2.6 above for details). However, he also treated two hundred and fifty years, in the case of one change, and four hundred years in the case of another, as one period, in his first study (1972). Choosing a suitable time span needs to be done individually for each study with due consideration of the unique nature of each set of data in addition to the pursued objectives.

Two further concerns related to chronology have emerged. The first one questions the assumption that the date of the composition of a document implies that the spelling of place-name elements in the document was in current usage. In particular, names might have been in use for some time before they were written down for the first time. This is particularly important for etymologically non-transparent elements. Was the spelling of such names representative of an earlier period in the history of the name and language history or was it representative of language usage current around the time the source was dated?

This issue has been approached, though not systematically. Ekwall (1917) used Middle English data to trace the boundary of Old English breaking (see 2.2.2 above for details). He identified both types of spelling, *ea*-forms and *a*-forms, in Middle English place names in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire. He assumed that the two counties belonged to the West-Saxon dialect in Old English and breaking did take place there, that is why he found some *ea*-forms. He explained the presence of more numerous *a*-forms as later replacement of the original *ea*-forms and postulated that the two types of spelling represented two different linguistic scenarios that occurred at two different points in time. The explanation is plausible: however in this particular case it was not easy to verify from the data available to Ekwall. This example of separating different layers in the history of place names gives a glimpse of the kind of analysis that could be done. However, no further work in phonology of place names has been devoted specifically to the problem of relative chronology captured by onomastic data.

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<sup>29</sup> Some data came from the rolls for 1296, and one roll for 1346 was examined for West Riding of Yorkshire.

The second chronological issue is the relation between language forms and the historical context. Language data cannot be fully interpreted without considering wider historical context. It is not enough to analyse chosen language features in the time dimension in isolation from social and political factors. Following Brandl (1915), Ekwall (1917) advocated looking at tribal, ecclesiastical and political circumstances in support of linguistic conclusions. While researchers of county monographs, such as Bohman (1944), Rubin (1951) or Sundby (1963), set the scene and put their linguistic study in the historical context, they were not always careful about how much they could assume about their sources and consequently drew overreaching conclusions based on extralinguistic assumptions.

On occasions Bohman (1944) arrives at conclusions beyond what can be supported by the data interpreted in the wider context. Many of her explanations were based on assumptions about the nature of the documents; however, Bohman did not assess the original documents, her information came from introductions written by the editors of the various collections she used. They give only sketchy characteristics of the origin of the documents; there is no information as to the numbers of scribes involved or about changes of hand and therefore possible details of linguistic usage. Bohman for example, assumes that wills reflect the dialect of old people. She uses this assumption to explain away the presence of conservative *a*-spellings, as opposed to new *e*-spelling, in the word *strat* 'street' found in one collection of fourteenth century wills: Court of Husting wills (Sharpe 1889-90). Bohman claims that this late occurrence of the feature "can be explained by the assumption that they illustrate the dialect of old people as it appears in their wills" (1944: 15). From the evidence available we cannot determine whether scribes recorded local pronunciations of the place names in those wills or not. Bohman's assumption was that wills were primarily recorded by aged people (which was more likely a practice in Bohman's time) in their own forms of language, whereas they were more likely to be drawn up by legal practitioners and frequently for propertied people of any age.

The wider context in which the data has to be looked at is a source of problems with Kristensson's assumptions that are behind SMED. Following Willard (1934) and Arngart (1934, 1939a,b, 1949), Kristensson claimed that LSRs were local in character (spelling and pronunciation) to the extent no other medieval sources were. Kristensson's assumptions are discussed further in section 2.3.4 below, which deals with assumptions and practices about the nature of local sources and in section 2.3.5 below, which discusses claims about the value of onomastic based dialectology of Middle English.

### 2.3.4 'Local sources reflect local pronunciation'

This section addresses the issue of what are suitable sources of onomastic data, considering that recording local pronunciation was perceived as one of the aims of Middle English dialectology. At first the view was that all sources, with caution, were valuable for the Middle English period but this assumption, and practice, soon gave way to the assumption that only local sources rendered local pronunciation faithfully. The usefulness of local sources rested upon the assumption of faithful writing or copying of names by local scribes. This belief has been since strongly criticised.

Initially, all sources, used “with caution”, were considered for data collection for the period 1100 to 1500 by Heuser, Brandl, Ekwall 1913, 1917, 1938, Wyld 1913-14a,b, 1920, Reaney(1925, 1926-7), Mackenzie (1928). Ekwall (1917) remarked that not all sources recorded local data and recommended assessing documents' suitability on an individual basis. Brandl (1915) observed that local sources were more suitable than central ones for the purpose of obtaining reliable dialectal data. However, he himself did not follow this recommendation (according to Bohman 1944). Serjeantson (1922: 94) concluded that scribes from one area did not use “their own local forms in names in other counties which normally used a different type. We do not find Kentish forms in Hereford, nor Hampshire pronunciations in Essex”.

Brandl's (1915) observation led to awareness of differences between local, half-central and central sources (Bohman 1944, Rubin 1951, Sundby 1963, Ek 1972, 1975) and to expressing preference for selecting data from local sources. Spelling variants found in names recorded in local sources were believed to reflect pronunciation of those locations because they were written by local scribes. Rubin (1951: 12) declared that his Sussex sources were local in character; however, he made an exception and included a central document *The Great Roll of the Pipe*<sup>30</sup> “because of the lack of material for early ME.” Sundby claimed that he found enough local documents “to carry out [his Worcestershire] investigation without having recourse to Central (Chancery) documents, which tend to obscure the picture of regional dialect” (1963: 9). However, without explicitly stating it, he did include forms from sources that are classified as central,<sup>31</sup> for example *The Great Roll of the Pipe* (henceforth P) and *Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office* (henceforth Pat), or either central or half-central, for example *The Inquisitions Post Mortem* (henceforth Ipm), *Assize Rolls* (henceforth Ass) and

30 *The Great Roll of the Pipe*. Record Commission, 3 vols. London 1833-44. (Quoted from EPNS Sussex volume) 1159-88, 1190-1203, 1230 (Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, London, 1884 ff.): 1242 (Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts 5. New Haven, 1918).

31 See the classification in Liebl (2002).

the *Domesday Book* (henceforth DB) and from the English Place-Name Society volume for Worcestershire. Ek (1972, 1975) also mentions the superiority of local sources but in practice uses all the sources available, including central ones because “the trend is still the same” (1972: 62).

In summary, researchers expressed preference for local sources, but in practice they used all the sources they felt were useful. Supplementing local data in this way was Ekwall's recommendation. He had pointed out in 1938 that local sources did not provide sufficient material, and had to be supplemented by other available sources. The data found in the additional sources he selected for Yorkshire (*Charter Rolls*, *Episcopal Register* and others) was consistent with the data obtained from his local sources. This can be inferred from the following remark “the testimony of the various sources agrees remarkably well” (1938: 148). Ekwall did not hide the fact that he was using all the sources of data that showed consistency, whereas others after him did the same, but said they did something else.

Once researchers selected suitable sources of onomastic data, they took spellings of names found in them as faithful records of local pronunciation. Bohman (1944), for example, based a lot of her explanations on assumptions about the local nature of the documents. She talked about scribal practices and in particular how faithfully scribes reflected the pronunciation of people who were associated with particular place names. Thus, she claimed that the material in *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* (henceforth AD; PRO 1890-1915)<sup>32</sup> represented the dialect of the wealthiest people in London because it was their names that were recorded in the documents. The assumption of scribal faithfulness implies that these names were recorded not as the scribes would pronounce them but as their owners would. Bohman's assumption about the recording of the pronunciation of the old people in a collection of fourteenth century wills from Court of Husting stems from the same belief.

Bohman treated language forms recorded in Westminster sources as a spoken dialect not a scribal practice. The shaky assumption of scribal faithfulness leads to questionable conclusions. Because place names in Westminster show certain peculiar forms, Bohman concluded that these must reflect the speech of Westminster officials, and that they were evidence for a separate Westminster dialect. To this dialect she ascribed an Anglian (possibly Old Mercian) origin. Bohman failed to consider the possibility that regular

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32 <http://www.catalogue.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> Records created, acquired, and inherited by Chancery, and also of the Wardrobe, Royal Household, Exchequer and various commissions. Records of the Chancery as a legal registry and repository. [as at 31.08.2004]

divergences in the Westminster spelling could reflect differences in scribal practice, rather than genuine differences in spoken language.

When the Westminster spelling practice was detectable in the major names and surnames associated with wealthy Devon families, Bohman claimed that the Westminster dialect was responsible for these forms. Moreover, on the basis of the Westminster dialect forms being present in names associated with rich families in Devon she concluded that these families themselves were adopting the Westminster dialect. Once again she used her assumption of scribal faithfulness to go from the dialect used in recording the names to the dialect of the owners of the names. The evidence does not allow us to decide whether Westminster was genuinely influencing the spoken dialect of Devon or not.

Kristensson (SMED) focusses on one type of document believed to be local in character, namely LSRs (see 2.2.5 above for details). Kristensson believes that LSRs reflect spoken dialects of the local scribes who recorded the taxpayers' details of pronunciation. "They wrote what they 'heard' or what they thought they 'heard'. For each phoneme they generally had a corresponding spelling-symbol." (Kristensson 1976: 56).

"Not all Middle English specialists share Kristensson's belief in the truly "local" character of Lay Subsidy Rolls" (Kitson 1998: 169). The concerns about the nature of the language of the LSRs were expressed soon after the publication of the first volume of the SMED (Davis 1968, McIntosh 1969). McClure (1973), for example, pointed out that Kristensson's sources were not the local assessment rolls which were the original tax returns but county rolls which contained summaries copied from the original tax rolls by clerks of the chief taxers. The original local assessment rolls are no longer extant and cannot be used for assessing the local nature of the copied county rolls. McClure argued that Kristensson did not present "a thorough-going methodology for ascertaining the reliability of the scribes, either as copyists or as local informants" (1973: 188).

Kristensson addressed some of the concerns expressed by McClure (1973) in his article "Lay Subsidy Rolls and dialect geography" (1976). He presented in it, side by side, the entries of the county rolls and the surviving original returns (the local rolls) of Stratford-on-Avon (1332) to show the relationship between them. The same names are enumerated. Showing differences in spelling which could be classed into three well-defined categories: scribal errors, orthographic variants (e.g.: <i/y>, <ssh/sh> for <sc> and <ss> and <o> for <u> in front of <n>) and normalised spellings, Kristensson pointed out that the first two categories occur in all kinds of ME documents and texts. The third category, normalised spelling, was indeed a form of correction introduced by the county roll scribe



to eliminate the most obvious 'misspellings' made, according to Willard (1934), by "barely literate" local scribes. However, Kristensson insisted that none "of the spelling changes presented above imply a change that gives the name concerned a different 'pronunciation' of a dialect feature" (1976: 56). Furthermore, he repeated Sundby's (1963, 1970) remarks that the scribes dealing with official matters were extra careful to copy details such as names without mistakes in order to avoid giving rise to tax evasion.<sup>33</sup>

The assumptions of scribal faithfulness in recording local pronunciation have been criticised strongly by Clark (and others before, e.g.: Davis 1968: 271). Clark (1992c) explains that the tax records in medieval England were based on Latin frameworks.

The scribes are not, therefore, to be envisaged as aiming to write "English", still less as striving to devise phonetic transcriptions of anyone's pronunciation, their own or an informant's. Rather were they endeavouring to accommodate English items, mainly names of persons and of places, within the obligatory Latin framework – to give, as it were a quick lick of Latin paint to the rough vernacular. (1992c: 124).

Another point about suitable onomastic sources was raised by Ekwall (1938) and repeated by Arngart (1949). Preference should be given to original manuscript versions of documents as opposed to published editions of them. In practice, most researchers used a mixture of both. Bohman (1944) distinguishes between the use of published and unprinted, i.e. original manuscript sources. Nevertheless, all the data presented from unprinted sources were not collected by the author from the original manuscripts. Instead, the spellings were copied from other publications. This renders the distinction meaningless. Sundby's (1963) place-name forms came from both published and unpublished sources (these are distinguished by typeface in the listings of spelling forms; as they are in EPNS volumes). What is lacking is an indication of how many records come from each category of sources. It is not clear, either, what proportion of the data come from the *Place-Names of Worcestershire* volume of the English Place-Name Society (Gover, Mawer, and Stenton 1927). Kristensson alone (SMED) followed rigorously the recommendation of using original manuscripts to obtain the data from:

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<sup>33</sup> Sundby (1963) however, does not give examples of documents in which it is stated that misspelling led to tax evasion. There are examples of clarification elsewhere, but no details of reasons for it. The Preface to *Calendarium Genealogicum* (ed. By Charles Roberts, 1865, vol. I: XXXVI) mentions cases of clarification regarding names when a person used two different names. For example, an inquiry into an escheat of some property mentions "Robert de Cambridge" a son of "Nicholas de Cambridge". The jury explain that he called himself "Robert de Darby" and thus had two names, although they believed "he ought to bear the name of his father, and be called Robert de Cambridge". In another example, a writ of Diem clausit was issued in the name "Dionisa de Helvyngton" and the inquisition was returned under the name "Dionisa de Essex". The escheator explained that the two names used referred to the same person.



where suitable he compared his data to the printed LSRs and the data recorded in the appropriate EPNS volume.

Although a lot of effort was spent identifying suitable sources of data, the methods are far from reliable and the results are not easy to verify. Major work still needs to be done to make use of all the available sources of onomastic data, in line with current assumptions and expectations about the role of place names in Middle English dialectology. Further work is also needed in presentation of data, to make it more accessible and easier to analyse statistically. Some preliminary suggestions about improvements to data methodology and presentation are offered in the section Summary Discussion (2.4) below and in chapter 5.

### **2.3.5 'Onomastic data gives a true picture of ME dialects'**

This section presents arguments for and against the claims that place-name data is necessary and/or sufficient to give “a true picture” of Middle English dialects.

The early stages of Middle English dialect research focused on the dialect boundaries. Onomastic data was considered necessary because it offered datable and localisable data, with coverage unmatched by literary data. Serjeantson (1922: 93) offered this assessment of onomastic data:

the conclusion from Pl. Ns. [place names] may be accepted with some confidence, and as practically no smallest district in England is without its ancient records, there seems no reason why, as regards the phonological features at least, it should not be possible to establish M.E. [Middle English] dialect boundaries fairly accurately

Studies such as Wyld (1913-14a,b) or Ekwall (1917), though they were an improvement on the previous achievements in Middle English dialect research, still produced too little data, spread too thinly in time and space, to build a detailed picture of Middle English dialects. Wyld's 1920 study of twenty-one Middle English dialect features (described in 2.2.1 above) demonstrates the extent to which place names can contribute to the description of Middle English dialects. On balance, the article shows both the strengths and weaknesses of place names as linguistic evidence. On this occasion Wyld investigates several texts, literary and documentary, to confirm his earlier conclusions based on place names.<sup>34</sup> Wyld is not precise about how many of his twenty-one tests of dialect were investigated with place-name data. Inflectional endings, although quite rich, especially in early Middle English, are hardly present in the English onomastic data; thus

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<sup>34</sup> Dating and provenance of most of the Middle English texts has been revised in the intervening century since Wyld's paper.

one third of Wyld's test items (covering all morphological tests) was not suitable for analysis with place-name data. In his concluding section, Wyld states that place names were most helpful for three tests: the development of (a) OE *ȝ* (here Wyld repeats the results presented in his 1913-14a paper), (b) OE *eald-* (*ald-*) for which he refers to Ekwall's research published in 1917, and (c) OE *ēo* for which he presents material from a then-unpublished investigation by Serjeantson (1922). However, the onomastic material provides better density of coverage than the texts for these three tests. Wyld recognises that neither textual material on its own, nor onomastics on its own, is sufficient as a source of data for English medieval dialectology. Of these two types, texts provide the bulk of the linguistic evidence for most of his tests, while onomastics can complement and enrich the textual finds and is especially useful for certain types of evidence.

Scholars, some of whom were discussed in 2.2 above, collected sizeable quantities of place names in order to describe Middle English dialects. When the amount of place-name data was bigger than the amount of (usable) literary data there was a temptation to claim that onomastic data was the most accurate and fullest data available. However, there was also realistic assessment of the strengths of place-name evidence in some cases. For example, *Studies in the Middle English dialects of Devon and London* was an advance on previous research, but as Bohman herself admitted, the analysis of five phonological criteria from place-name data, however large the body of data, cannot "define the Devon dialect proper" (Bohman 1944: 54). *Studies in the Middle English dialect of Worcestershire records* by Sundby (1963) was a further advancement in scope, as it covered some aspects of morphology, syntax, and vocabulary as well as the analysis of phonetic and phonemic place-name data on a county level. However, the strength of place-name data lies in its contribution to establishing geographical variation in phonology.

Some researchers continue to be of the opinion that onomastic data is superior to other types of data. One recently completed survey of phonology of names (Kristensson SMED) claims that the data gives "a true picture" of Middle English dialects. There is no denying the fact that Kristensson accumulated an impressive body of onomastic data, testing phonological criteria on the whole of England. However, the level of detail found in his five volumes of SMED when compared, for example, to the details recorded in the four volumes of *LALME* clearly shows that SMED does not match the scope of *LALME*. Kristensson's insistence that his study is a survey of Middle English dialects aiming to give their "true picture" has provoked harsh criticism (Insley 1992, 1998), to the point of belittling his achievement.

Kristensson's survey is a detailed account of the phonology of onomastic material falling within the chronological bounds of the period 1290-1350, but no more than that. Indeed, the concentration on the Lay Subsidy Rolls, in particular those of 1327 and 1332, constitutes a further constraint on its scope. The title is clearly a misnomer, for we are certainly not presented with the comprehensive dialect survey it implies, even within the limited chronological terms of reference set by the author. (Insley 1992: 158)

Kristensson's survey may not provide as complete a picture of Late Middle English dialects as he would have liked, but that does not mean that his contribution has not been greater than most towards that end.

## **2.4 Summary Discussion**

This section summarises the achievements and problems of Middle English studies based on place names and discusses how some problems, mentioned in section 2.3 above, can be overcome. A realistic approach to the role of onomastic data in dialectology is needed, and improvements must be made to methods for data extraction and presentation compatible with current aims pursued in English historical dialectology.

### **2.4.1 Achievements and problems**

Individual achievements of place-name based studies are presented in greater detail in sections 2.2 and 2.3 above. The pioneers in onomastic dialectology achieved noteworthy results; they:

- opened up new lines of inquiry into Late Middle English by identifying an additional source of data,
- designed methodology for the linguistic study of onomastic data,
- provided evidence to correct dialect boundaries established from literary data,
- made observations, from the data, about the existence of transitional dialects, which Wyld called "mixed dialects",
- observed, by the mid 1920s, that if sufficient numbers of variables were considered, the results formed, what we now call, a dialect continuum; boundaries exist only if single features are studied in isolation.

In contrast to these successes, dialectologists using Middle English literary data continued to test isolated features and draw dialect boundaries for many decades because they were unable to collect sufficient quantity of data.

The discussion in 2.3 highlighted four major types of problems with the use of onomastic data in Middle English dialectology:

- practices in breach of theory,
- conclusions not fully supported by the data,
- doubtful reliability of the data,
- dubious results obtained from onomastics.

**2.4.2 A note on etymological transparency**

The use of the term “etymological transparency” by researchers quoted in section is unclear. If writing practices were consistent, place-name elements should be rendered in the following way:

place-name elements		
provenance of source	transparent	non-transparent
local	LD	LD
half-central	LD/ST(D)	LD
central	ST(D)	LD

LD (Local Dialect), ST(D) (Standard(ised) output)

At any given time, we should expect to encounter transparent and non-transparent place-name elements. The non-transparent ones would be undecipherable and left unchanged in all three types of sources: local, half-central and central. The transparent elements, on the other hand, would be written down in the manner appropriate to the local dialect in local sources, they could be either left unchanged or standardised in half-central sources, depending on what the scribe's competence and strategy was, and should be rendered in standardised form of spelling by scribes employed in central offices.

However, how could we decide which elements were transparent in early Middle English? At the moment we only can speculate about transparency on the basis of the amount of variation found in particular names. In theory, it should be possible to compile a checklist or a dictionary of place-name elements and the times of their attestations together with the spellings attested. Lack of variation coupled with infrequent attestation could suggest that the element is non-transparent.

### 2.4.3 A way forward

This section states what we have left that we are confident about, after taking account of valid criticism. Some suggestions are made about improvements that would enhance the value of onomastic data for future use in dialectology.

#### 1. What can be achieved using onomastic data.

Recorded place names densely cover large areas of England and have done so since medieval times. Early forms of place names reflect the dialect of the region in which the places are found. This variation may be a source of regional, and thus dialectal, data. There are several advantages to using place names as dialectal informants. They come with precise localisation. The sources from which place names are collected are usually precisely dated. The dating of the sources can be a guide to dating the forms written in them. A lot of names occur in series of Middle English documents issued at time intervals, changes recorded overtime in spelling of individual names may provide evidence of linguistic developments in the intervening period.

Dialectal features recoverable from onomastic data are not only phonological, as adduced from spelling, but also lexical, including general vocabulary, little-known dialect vocabulary and agricultural terminology, all of which are poorly attested in literary texts (Clark 1992b). There is less data for tracing morphological or syntactic developments, although some evidence can be found (Sundby 1963) especially for Old English and early Middle English. A phonological investigation or a study of vocabulary for a given period, no matter how detailed, cannot be equated with a complete dialect survey. It can, however, be invaluable in providing additional material.

#### 2. Precise statement of aims and methods.

A clear statement of aims, in the light of what onomastics can do well (point 1 above, in this section) and what it cannot achieve, is necessary to focus the efforts on identifying suitable methods. Recording regional variation in as much detail as possible has been the aim of Middle English dialectology since *LALME*. The emphasis in *LALME* is on building a picture of the Late Middle English dialect continuum as opposed to drawing dialect boundaries. The interesting point is that researchers dealing with onomastic data concluded, as early as the 1920s, that the data formed “a gradual transition” (Wyld 1920: 143) rather than discrete dialect areas separated by clear-cut boundaries. “[V]ery minute investigation of every county or small group of counties”, as advocated by Serjeantson (1922: 233) should continue to be the main aim of onomastic dialectology as it has already produced good results.

### **3. Entry on maps.**

All the variation found in the spelling of onomastic data should be entered on maps. The “entry on maps of written forms assessable so to speak in their own right must be carried out *before* any detailed systematic phonological or phonetic interpretation of them can be attempted” (McIntosh 1963[1969]: 394-5). This recommendation by McIntosh that resulted in the publication of *LALME*, and the ongoing work on *LAEME*, is also valid for the study of onomastic data. Further analysis, especially recovering pronunciation from spelling, or drawing dialect boundaries has to await the completion of exhaustive collection and mapping of the data.

### **4. Increasing data reliability.**

Identifying suitable sources of data for dialectal research is one of the main tasks of scholars using place names as evidence. Each period of the history of English is unique. Early Middle English is a stage without a written standard. Latin, and less widely French, are the languages of the central and to some extent provincial administration. As mentioned in chapter 1 above, there is not a lot of output in English, and all the texts appear in non-standard orthography reflecting dialectal developments.

The emphasis in onomastic dialectal research of Late Middle English has so far been on the superiority of local sources, to avoid the influence of standardising effects found in central sources, although practices varied in the extent to which all the available sources have been made use of. It is not obvious that early Middle English central sources would pose the same problems, considering that there is no English produced centrally at that time. All types of sources: local, half-central and central should be considered provided each type of document is assessed individually. In the case of central sources the influence of Latin orthography would have to be scrutinised. This way forward is advocated by Clark (1992b). Assessment of all the extant sources of data would result in creating, among others, linguistic document profiles. A document profile would have to include palaeographic information about all the scribal hands identifiable in the document, and would result in creating scribal or hands' profiles. This is not a new line of enquiry, rather it is an extension of the methodology used for analysis of Late Middle English devised for *LALME*. McIntosh introduced the notion of scribal profiles (McIntosh 1975[1989c]) and discussed creating an inventory of Middle English scribes (McIntosh 1974[1989b]) in some detail; more recently Black (2000) contributed new thought on the subject.

A long term interdisciplinary study into the classification and analysis of the scribal practices, document profiles and context is a serious requirement for future onomastics-



based dialectology. Several researchers include brief characteristics of Middle English documents, however there is no agreement among them as to the provenance of the language recorded in the sources; Liebl (2002) summarises the range of opinions of onomastic experts. McIntosh's recommendation for the treatment of literary and documentary texts is relevant for a successful analysis of place names too: "what is ... needed is some kind of ordered description which will at once facilitate and stimulate its fuller linguistic investigation from a wide variety of points of view" (McIntosh's 1975 [1989]: 32).

Onomastic data was most frequently recorded in documents,<sup>35</sup> although some place names and personal names were also recorded in literary texts, on coins or on other objects. A starting point for a data collection project in early Middle English<sup>36</sup> would have to be the cataloguing of all the extant sources of names, similar for example, to the *Catalogue of sources for a linguistic atlas of early medieval English* (Laing 1993). In fact, the catalogue has entries for some documents that were copied or written in early Middle English (Laing 1993: 4-5); it also has references to other useful catalogues. Another invaluable resource already available are the bibliographies of sources in EPNS county volumes. Additionally, there are numerous catalogues, source-books, bibliographies and handlists of writings in medieval England, done in Latin, Anglo-French or English, or in a mixture of all three, compiled for the purposes of historians and law historians that should be assessed for linguistic usability. These are increasingly available in the electronic format and on the Internet. There are further numerous resources designed to be accessed on the Internet (or CD-Roms) such as facsimile editions of texts with transcripts and translation into Present Day English, searchable databases,<sup>37</sup> projects that bring together editions of texts, tagged texts and databases into combined resources equipped with search tools. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt assessing and cataloguing such resources. See chapter 5 below, in particular section 5.2, for discussion of some future directions.

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35 "The term 'document' here includes legal and administrative writings such as charters (a designation itself often used to cover a wide variety of texts), writs, grants, wills, papal letters, diplomas, manumissions and laws" (Laing 1993: 3). Any other writing would be classified as literary texts, which Laing (1993: 5) divides into five categories from major works, of religious or secular nature, to short fragments such as proverbs, prayers and charms either in prose or verse.

36 Early Middle English has been selected here for illustration purposes, as this theses concentrates on that period. The work hinted at here should include Old English, early as well as Late Middle English.

37 For example the National Archives online <http://www.catalogue.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> [as at 31.08.2004]

## **3 Tools and Methods**

### **3.1 Introduction**

When the area and the EPNS volumes were selected for the investigation, a decision had to be made about the data collection method. Initially a small pilot study was done in order to assess the usefulness of the data gathered. One variable, the development of the reflexes of OE /y(:)/, was analysed by hand from the ESS volume (EPNS XII). Enough data was found to proceed with the project. The results were entered manually into a database. Each record contained several fields: the spellings, dates and sources as well as the modern form of the place name, parish name, hundred name, page number in the volume and national grid co-ordinate field. The data entry turned out to be time consuming and error prone, a lot of extra time was spent proof-reading the records. At the end of the trial a limited amount of data was available for analysis and mapping. If a wider geographic area were to be examined, a different method of data collection had to be found.

#### **3.1.1 Linguistic questionnaire**

Copying the data items for pre-selected dialect features into a database would result in a questionnaire type investigation. However, it has been argued (for example Benskin 1994) that a traditional questionnaire with pre-set questions may turn out to be an obstacle rather than an aid to achieving accurate language analysis. A good starting point instead, would be to map the distributions of forms one by one and build an exhaustive corpus. Once a corpus is built we can proceed with the analysis. The resulting description is derived from the whole corpus of attested variation. It may turn out that the most salient features in the corpus coincide with the pre-selected questions; however the classification of regional variation obtained by assessing all the available evidence has greater validity than questions pre-set before the data is identified.

### **3.2 Tools and Methods**

#### **1. Digitised corpus**

Bearing in mind the time expenditure of manually entering data into a database and the drawbacks of a linguistic questionnaire, I decided to create a digitised corpus by scanning the contents of the relevant EPNS volumes. The initial trials were encouraging, the Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software was able to recognise the majority of the characters, which was an achievement considering all the volumes were published before

1945 and the type-setting is quite archaic in style. Each page still had to be proof read manually, misread characters had to be typed in, some numbers needed correcting, paragraph breaks had to be re-set, notes and footnotes fixed. The task of scanning and proof-reading of the five volumes began in earnest.<sup>38</sup> The time expenditure was considerable, at least as high as the typing-in of the database records, however the resultant corpus entailed the contents of the entire volumes with all the data recorded for each place name. I have scanned and proof-read five county volumes: Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire (EPNS III), Cambridgeshire and Ely (EPNS XIX), Essex (EPNS XII), Hertfordshire (EPNS XV) and Middlesex (EPNS XVIII) (see the Key Map on p. 2).

The digitised volumes had to be converted into a corpus. The text was marked up in XML (Extensible Markup Language),<sup>39</sup> identifying hundred headings, parish headings, modern form of place names, spellings, dates and sources. National grid co-ordinates were added to parish names from Ordnance Survey (henceforth O.S.) maps and the *The Gazetteer of Great Britain* (O.S. 1987[1998]) to enable the mapping of the results. There is additional structural mark-up of footnotes and notes so that tagging could proceed sensibly. The corpus created this way is being stored in a MySQL<sup>40</sup> database, tailor-made for this purpose.<sup>41</sup>

Here is an example of data markup and processing. The first part of the record for SHOEbury in ESS in DB and in the period 1100-1300 appears as follows in the volume (EPNS XII: 198):

*Essoberiam*1086 DB, *Soberiam* ib., *-beria* 12th France, (*Parva*) 1261 BM, *-biri(e)* 1195 P, t. Hy 3 RBE, *-beri*, *-bir(y)* 1228, 1288 FF, *-byre* c. 1230 Bodl, *-bery* 1238 SR, 1294 Ipm, *Nortsobyr'* 1248 Ass

This text was marked up with XML in the following way. The paragraph as a whole was wrapped in a tag <p>. Each word or phrase corresponding to a spelling, a date or a source abbreviation were marked up with corresponding tags. Italics were preserved in the markup as well, as these are used to distinguish some sources in the volumes. The above paragraph results in the following XML code.

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38 I would like to gratefully acknowledge the permission to digitise the volumes, granted to me by Richard Coates, the president of the EPNS, the copy right holder of the material.

39 An introduction to XML can be obtained from <http://www.w3.org/XML/> [as at 20.03.2005]

40 The program can be obtained from <http://www.mysql.com/> [as at 20.03.2005]

41 Bespoke software for tagging, proof-reading assistance, tuple search, tuple set editing and mapping were written and managed by Mark Ellison, whose help I would like to gratefully acknowledge.

<p> <spelling><i>Essoberiam </i></spelling> <date>1086 </date>  
 <abbrev>DB </abbrev> , <spelling><i>Soberiam </i></spelling>  
 <abbrev> <i>ib. </i></abbrev> , <spelling><i>-beria  
 </i></spelling> <date>12th </date> <abbrev>France </abbrev> ,  
 <spelling><i>(Parva) </i></spelling> <date>1261 </date>  
 <abbrev>BM </abbrev> , - <spelling><i>biri(e) </i></spelling>  
 <date>1195 </date> <abbrev>P </abbrev> ,  
 <date>t. Hy 3 </date> <abbrev>RBE </abbrev> , -  
 <spelling><i>beri</i></spelling> , <spelling><i>-bir(y)  
 </i></spelling> <date>1228 </date> , <date>1288 </date>  
 <abbrev>FF </abbrev> , <spelling><i>-byre</i></spelling>  
 <abbrev>c. </abbrev> <date>1230 </date> <abbrev>Bodl</abbrev> ,  
 <spelling><i>-bery </i></spelling> <date>1238 </date>  
 <abbrev><i>SR, </i></abbrev> <date>1294 </date> <abbrev>Ipm  
 </abbrev> , <spelling><i>Nortsobyr </i></spelling> ' <date>1248  
 </date> <abbrev><i>Ass </i></abbrev> </p>

A sequence: the spelling-date-source is called a **tuple** in the remainder of this thesis. A number of problems arise in extracting the spelling-date-source tuples from text like this. The general rule was to find a date, and make a tuple with the most recent spelling to the left, and the first source abbreviation to the right. This rule easily generates the tuple *Essoberiam*-1086-DB from the first marked up date. Immediately, a problem arises. The next tuple should be *Soberiam*-1086-DB, but there is no date, as both the previous date and source are resumed by the *ib*. To capture this, an additional rule must recall the previous source in place of *ib*. preceded by a date, and the previous date and source if the *ib*. is immediately preceded by a spelling.

The third, fourth and fifth tuples show additional intricacies. In both of these cases, only part of the spelling is given. In the third tuple, the spelling *Soberia* must be inferred from *-beria* following the previous *Soberiam*, and in the fourth tuple, we have *Soberia Parva* in which the spelling is extended by a whole word. This word being in brackets, it is present in some cases (fourth tuple) and not in others (fifth tuple). Note also the date from the right of *-beria*. This date is 12th, which refers to the span of the whole century: 1101-1200. Searches for any period overlapping with this century should find the third tuple.<sup>42</sup>

The next spelling has the form *-beri(e)*. As the parentheses indicate that the *e* is sometimes present and sometimes absent, this form must be expanded to cover two spellings: *Sobiri* and *Sobirie*, and consequently this generates two tuples. The next date, *t. Hy 3*, is interesting as like the century mark seen earlier, it offers a span rather than a

42 In the analysis sections, where dating is indicated by a range of dates, e.g.: either 1130-54, or a regnal time span, or a century, the first date is ignored and the second date is taken as the date of the spelling. Thus, any spellings assigned the dates 12th or 13th, which are abbreviations of 1101-1200 and 1201-1300 respectively, are treated as examples from the second half of the 12th century or 13th century.

single date. In this case, the span is the reign of Henry the Third: 1216-1272. The remaining tuples can be extracted from this section using the methods described above. In total, this short paragraph corresponds to 19 tuples:

1. *Essoberiam* 1086 DB, 2. *Soberiam* [1086 DB], 3. [So-] *-beria* 12th France, 4. [So-] [-*beria*] *Parva* 1261 BM, 5. [So-] [-*beria*] 1261 BM, 6. [So-] *-biri* 1195 P, 7. [So-] *-birie* 1195 P, 8. [So-] *-biri* t. Hy 3 RBE, 9. [So-] *-birie* t. Hy 3 RBE, 10. [So-] *-beri* 1228 [FF], 11. [So-] *-bir* 1228 [FF], 12. [So-] *-biry* 1228 [FF], 13. [So-] *-beri* 1288 FF, 14. [So-] *-bir* 1288 FF, 15. [So-] *-biry* 1288 FF, 16. [So-] *-byre* c. 1230 Bodl, 17. [So-] *-bery* 1238 SR, 18. [So-] *-bery* 1294 Ipm, 19. *Nortsobyr'* 1248 Ass

Bespoke web-interface programs were written to allow me to search for combinations of spelling patterns and dates. The results were listed in tuple sets, each containing a single spelling, date and source.

## 2. Tuple files

Tuples resulting from searches in the database are saved into tuple-files. These files form the source material for each feature examined. Each tuple, or a group of tuples found in a given period, usually of fifty years, are accompanied by the following information: the county, hundred, parish, page number in the EPNS volume, followed by the paragraph number in which a given tuple is stored in the electronic corpus.<sup>43</sup> For example, a search for the place-name element 'ford' in sub-period from 1086-1300 returned a long list of names with the element in question, as well as a new element, related to 'ford': *twi-fyrde* 'double ford' with the following tuples: *Twyferd* 1248 FF, *Twiford* 1255 Ass, *Twyforde* 1275 FF; these tuples are followed by: (co. Hertfordshire, hu. BRAUGHING, pa. Thorley, p. 204, para 16525).<sup>44</sup>

Tuples are linked to the corpus, this allows checking the whole record for a given name and accessing the etymological notes for the place-name element(s) found in the name to make sure that the name contains the item in question. For example, a PDE name EASTON, could be derived from elements *east* + *tun* 'farm, enclosure, town' with one *t* lost, or *east* + *stan* 'stone' with *s* and *t* lost.<sup>45</sup> When the tuples are proof-read and false 'hits' are eliminated the results are saved to co-ordinate files. Co-ordinate files include

<sup>43</sup> The division into electronic paragraphs preserves the paragraph structure found in the volumes, most of which was identified by the OCR software and checked during manual proof-reading. Keeping the original paragraph division makes it easy to compare the electronic version with the contents of the volumes. The electronic paragraphs thus created were assigned consecutive numbers automatically. The counties appear in the alphabetical order in the corpus, namely: BED, CAM, ELY, ESS, HRT, HUN, and MDX.

<sup>44</sup> Here *co.* stands for *county*, *hu.* for *hundred*, *pa.* for *parish* and *p.* for *page*.

<sup>45</sup> Better results were obtained when broader search queries were submitted despite the need for eliminating larger numbers of false hits. Wider searches also lead to unexpected finds.



tuples, i.e. spellings, dates and sources, and the national grid co-ordinates for the parishes in which the names are found. One tuple-file may result in several co-ordinate files, as the names in them are separated according to different spelling variants found in the data. For example, a place name OAKLEY in BED has the following tuples in the first half of the 13th century: *Aklye* 1220 LS, *Akle* 1227 Ass, [*Akle*] 1247 Ass, *Acle* 1236 FF, [*Acle* 1236] Cl, [*Acle*] 1242 Fees 868, [*Acle*] 1247 Ass, *Ocle* 1247 Ass. Attestations *Aklye*, *Akle*, *Acle* are included in the co-ordinate file with <a>, whereas *Ocle* is saved in the file with other attestations of <o>.

### 3. Mapping

The co-ordinate files are used to make maps. Like the searching and tuple-selection tools described above, maps are created using a web interface. This interface allows the user to define sets of points, each defined by one or more co-ordinate files which specify the national grid coordinates of the points to be plotted. Each set of points is associated with a symbol, a size, a colour, and a toggle indicating whether the symbol is filled (solid) or not. Also associated with each set is a title for the set. On submission of the input form, the interface constructs the map, returning it to the browser as an image. Also supplied are links to: PS (PostScript) and EPSI (Encapsulated PostScript with Image) files for the map and for a legend box, as well as a listing of the data reflected in the map, in the format seen here in Appendices B, C, D and E. The EPSI and data files can then be imported directly into OpenOffice documents, such as constitute this thesis.

The map-making web interface is a bespoke CGI script (The Common Gateway Interface)<sup>46</sup> implemented in PERL. It coordinates its own data manipulation with postscript-generating tools from the GMT (Generic Mapping Tools) toolkit.<sup>47</sup>

### 4. Degree of accuracy on maps

National grid co-ordinates were added at the parish level rather than at the individual name level. Some names are lost in the post-medieval period but are assigned to parishes in which they were located. There are far fewer cases of lost parishes than of lost names inside parishes. Each parish is assigned an identifier (ID) on the map in the process of making the map. This is a unique identifier, a two-character code (number, number-letter or letter-letter) which identifies the place name for which the data was found, at a parish-level accuracy. The ID allows the cross referencing of symbols representing the spelling attested in place names found on a particular map with the data listings in tables and in the Data Appendix. The list of all the IDs can be found in Appendix A.

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46 An introduction to CGI can be obtained from <http://hoohoo.ncsa.uiuc.edu/cgi/> [as at 20.03.2005]

47 GMT (Generic Mapping Tools) is a GIS (Geographic Information System) suite. The suite can be obtained from <http://gmt.soest.hawaii.edu/> [as at 20.03.2005]



## 4 Data Analysis and Discussion

This chapter focuses on the analysis of some place-name data that has been available for over sixty years but has not been analysed within a single framework. The aim is to show, with improved data processing methods, the dialect continuum for a selected number of variables in early Middle English in the South-East Midlands.

### 4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 above discusses the tools and methods used for obtaining the data for analysis. The data comes from a digital corpus created from five EPNS volumes, covering six counties of the South-East Midlands: Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire with Ely, Essex, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Middlesex. The volumes were scanned, parsed and entered into a database equipped with tools that allowed to perform searches by spelling, date and source, returning data sets in tabular or map form.

Spelling of selected Old English common words which appear as elements of place names in early Middle English forms the basis of the analysis. These elements are used as test items for checking the development of selected Old English variables: OE /ɑ:/, OE /y/, OE /æ:/ and voicing of initial fricatives [f] and [s]. The spelling of the test items selected for each variable is analysed in fifty-year sub-periods covering the period 1100 to 1300: the data for DB is included for comparison. The type of variation is recorded: in the case of the vowels, the numbers of place names with particular vowel spelling for each item, in each sub-period, is presented in tables. The history of spelling of individual place names in the 12th and 13th centuries is shown in separate tables. Variation in spelling recorded in specific sources from sub-period to sub-period is presented in separate tables (in the discussion sections), in those cases where it is of special interest.

All the items selected for analysis in this project, except for *SEA*, appear in both positions in compound names: they are attested as the first elements (name-initially) or as the second elements (name non-initially); *SEA*, appears only as the first element. For example, *STONE* is found as the first element in *STANBRIDGE*, where it describes material from which the bridge is made, and as the second element in *OSSULSTONE*, where it is used as a generic element and is preceded by the name of a person associated with the stone in question. However, most items (including *STONE*) show preference for appearance in either name-initial position or in non-initial position. This is influenced by their function

in place names. Some words function mainly as descriptive elements and appear as the first element, i.e. in the attributive position. BROAD, OAK, STONE, FEN and HEATH denote size, shape, material or association with particular vegetation or condition and more frequently qualify other elements than are qualified themselves in place names found in the EPNS corpus. On the other hand, BRIDGE, RIDGE, BURY, FORD and MEAD (meadow) function more frequently as generic elements and appear more often in the non-initial position in place names in the corpus.

Maps present the distribution of items in a particular sub-period(s) or show changes in data distribution across time. Symbols on the maps are assigned unique identifier codes (IDs), see the explanation in chapter 3, section 3.2 (4. Degree of accuracy on maps, p. 56) above. The IDs allow the cross referencing of symbols presented on a particular map with the data listings in tables and in the relevant Data Appendix (B, C, D or E). Appendix F presents the same data geographically by county and parish.

Data sections below have summary tables grouped together, followed by the map section. The discussion of the results comes after the presentation in tables and on the maps. Each variable is analysed in the way that addresses the questions arising from the data found for it. Different ways of data grouping are used for analysis based on factors that may influence the outcome. Some of the following factors are considered:

1. position in the compound: first element (fully stressed, although there is also possibility of shortening in polysyllabic names) vs. second element (unstressed, likely to undergo reduction of vowel),
2. immediate phonological context,
3. difference between spelling of major vs. minor names, and
4. type of source: separating data from local vs. central sources, to see if there are significant differences in spelling that could lead to refinement of results.

The place-name elements (called “test items” or “items” in the remained of this thesis) are given in their PDE forms and appear in small capitals, for example “item BROAD” (or BROAD). Old English West Saxon phonological units, with “West Saxon” omitted, are used as reference ancestor forms of the forms that appear in early Middle English, for example Old English /a:/ (or OE /a:/). Where non-West Saxon (non-WS) phonological units are referred to, they are given with the dialect label in which they appear and may be compared to West Saxon, for example Old English Kentish /e:/ (or OE Kt /e:/) where Old English West Saxon has /y:/ (or OE WS /y:/). Spelling of individual letters is enclosed in angular brackets, for example, <a>, while spelling of items (place-name

elements) or place names found in the corpus is given in italics, for example, *brad*, or *Bradefeld*. The modern form of a place name is written in capital letters, for example, BRADFIELD.

## 4.2 OE /ɑ:/

Three items with the Old English /ɑ:/, namely BROAD, OAK and STONE, were tested for their development in the period 1100 to 1300. Data found in DB (1086) was also included for comparison. The items were analysed separately both in name-initial position and in non-initial position in fifty-year sub-periods. The results for BROAD-, OAK- and STONE-, in name-initial position are presented in Table 1 (p. 60), Table 2 (p. 62) and Table 3 (p. 65) below; whereas Table 4 (p. 68), Table 5 (p. 71) and Table 6 (p. 73) below show the results for the three items attested in name non-initial position (indicated as -BROAD, -OAK and -STONE). The results are mapped on twelve distribution maps, see section 4.2.2 below. The tables and maps are followed by a discussion of the results obtained in the remainder of section 4.2.

### 4.2.1 Results

Table 1 below summarises the situation in the place-name data before the change of OE /ɑ:/ to eME /ɔ:/ and up to 1300, when the data suggests the change was still in progress at least in some names. All three items BROAD-, OAK- and STONE- appear with <a> spelling exclusively in the DB data.<sup>48</sup> There is one early occurrence of the spelling <o> in the item BROAD-, namely in the first half of the 12th century. Table 2 (p. 62) shows one place name with the <o> spelling in ESS in that sub-period; however upon close inspection this early dating of *brod*- is uncertain.<sup>49</sup> There are two examples of the spelling <au> for STONE- in the second half of the 12th century. The first certain dating of *staun*- in this place-name

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48 Liebl (2002: 86) quotes one example of spelling <o>, presumably indicating /ɔ:/, for OE /ɑ:/ in DB from the six counties under investigation here. OE *wād* 'woad' appears with <o> in *Wodtone* as well as with <a> *Wattone* in HRT (EPNS XV: 142, WATTON AT STONE). He lists some further twenty examples from various other counties of England and argues that the onomastic and textual data combined provide evidence of the change of OE /ɑ:/ to /ɔ:/ in the 11th century (Liebl 2002: 83-93).

49 The record comes from a source called *Westminster Domesday Book* (WDB). The spelling of the name is ascribed the range of dates 1121-36 (EPNS XII: 39). However, the source itself seems to be ascribed to the 14th century in the list of sources (EPNS XII: xlviii); presumably the name is recorded with the dates 1121-36 in a 14th century document. Normally when the spelling comes from a later copy, the author of EPNS XII puts the later date in brackets. It is unclear why this convention is not followed in connection with WDB. Both elements in this name are in fact items tested here: BROAD- and -OAK and both are spelt with <o> in 1121-36 WDB, significantly earlier than in other names. The spelling is likely to be 14th century.

corpus is from 1199, the second *staun-* name is also dated to the end of the 12th century but this may not be correct.<sup>50</sup> Apart from these uncertain exceptions, OAK-, BROAD- and STONE- continue to be spelt with <a> until the end of the 12th century. Spellings with <o> are attested in the first half of the 13th century: OAK- names are spelt with <o> exclusively, <o> and <a> interchangeably, or <a> exclusively. STONE- names appear with <a> exclusively or <o> exclusively; they are also attested with <a> and <au> interchangeably in this period. BROAD- is spelt with <o> and <a> interchangeably, or <a> exclusively; there are no examples of BROAD- place names spelt with <o> exclusively in the first half of the 13th century. All three items are attested with <o> exclusively or <a> exclusively in the second half of the 13th century. OAK- continues to appear with <o> and <a> interchangeably. STONE- is also found with <o> and <a> interchangeably. Additionally, more STONE- names appear with <au>, either exclusively, or interchangeably with <a>; one name is recorded with <o> and <au> interchangeably. One further STONE- name is attested with <a> and <ai> interchangeably and one name was found with the spelling <a>, <o> and <ay> interchangeably in the second half of the 13th century.

Table 1: Spelling variation of Old English /a:/ in early Middle English place names with OAK-, BROAD- and STONE- in name-initial position.

Spelling is indicated in angular brackets, e.g.: <a>; a tilde between angular brackets indicates that a name is attested with either of the letters in a particular sub-period, e.g.: <a>~<o>~<ay>; plus sign indicates which letters appear in a sequence, e.g.: <h>+<a>; forward slash followed by a letter indicates the context in which the preceding sequence occurs, e.g.: <a>+<m>/-<b>.

OE /a:/	DB 1086	1101-1150	1151-1200	1201-1250	1251-1300
OAK-		<a>	<a>	<a> <o> <a>~<o> <h>+<a>	<a> <o> <a>~<o> <h>+<o> <n>+<o>
BROAD-	<a>	<a> <o>	<a>	<a> <a>~<o>	<a> <o>
STONE-		<a>	<a> <au>	<a> <o> <a>~<au> <a>+<m>/-<b> /-<m>	<a> <o> <a>~<o> <a>~<au> <o>~<au> <au> <a>~<ai> <a>~<o>~<ay> <a>+<m>/-<b> /-<f> <au>+<m>/-<b>

<sup>50</sup> The EPNS spelling comes from a 12th century copy of a charter of 1062 in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* (KCD 813). Sawyer (1968), however, dates the charter to the 13th century.

Table 2 below (p. 62) shows the different spellings of Old English /ɑ:/ in place names that attest the items BROAD-, OAK- and STONE- in name-initial position in the period 1100 to 1300 (and in DB). Each item is presented separately and the numbers of place names in which a given spelling of the item occurs for each county are listed below the row which gives sub-total for each item. The total numbers of place names for each spelling type in all the test items (in a given sub-period) are given at the bottom of the table. The table does not indicate how many times a particular place name appears in the data in a given sub-period. The frequency of occurrence varies from one time to several but the EPNS volumes do not provide exhaustive listing of each spelling type of each name.<sup>51</sup> However, where it is of particular interest, the frequency of spelling, as found in the data, is mentioned in the discussion section below. All the data examined is presented in the Data Appendix.

Each column in Table 2 (p. 62) represents the numbers of names found with particular spelling types in the period indicated by the column heading. If a name appears in two different sub-periods it is counted separately in each. For example, one place name, OAKLEY (1H in BED) appears in DB and later in the periods 1151-1200, 1201-1250 and 1251-1300. Each time it is counted separately, and is summed up with the other names found in the same sub-period with that spelling. Thus, columns in Table 2 (p. 62) do not show how many names continue from one sub-period to another or, when they do, which vowel spelling they continue with. This information, however, can be found in Table 3 (p. 65) and on the maps that show the history of particular items, see section 4.2.2 below.

Table 2 (p. 62) shows increase in the data quantity of BROAD-, OAK- and STONE- in each fifty-year sub-period analysed. There are ten place names attested in the first half of the 12th century and twenty-three in the second half; the numbers increase to thirty-nine in the first half of the 13th century and to seventy-three in the second half. Twenty-six place names are attested in DB. Map 1 (p. 76) shows the geographical distribution of the place names with BROAD-, OAK- and STONE- attested in the corpus. The data is represented with a different symbol for each fifty-year sub-period; five crosses: four in ESS and one in MDX, represent two place names each, in sub-period 1251-1300.

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<sup>51</sup> Instead of a full list of sources and dates of a particular spelling, EPNS editors use *et freq* to indicate frequent occurrence of the form and *et passim* to indicate occasional occurrence of the form in addition to the instances they quote. Different volumes use these devices to different extent, which makes the data not entirely suitable for frequency analysis.

Table 2: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /a:/ in early Middle English place names with BROAD-, OAK- and STONE- in name-initial position.

	DB	1101-1150	1151-1200	1201-1250					1251-1300				
	1086												
<i>spelling</i>	a		a	a	o	a~o		a	o	a~o			
<i>item</i> OAK- <i>sub-total</i> <i>of names</i>	2		3	2	2	1		1	6	3	Distribution of oak- by county, sub-period and spelling type: Map 4.		
<i>distribution by</i> <i>county</i>													
BED	1		1			1				1			
CAM													
ELY													
ESS	1		1	1*					1	3	N+oke	1	
HRT					1				1**	1	N+oke		
				* incl. H+ac					** incl. H+ok				
HUN					1					1			
MDX			1	1				1					



Table 2 cont.: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /a:/ in early Middle English place names with BROAD-, OAK- and STONE- in name-initial position.

		DB 1086	1101-1150	1151-1200	1201-1250			1251-1300		
<i>spelling</i>		a	a	o	a	a~o		a	o	
<i>item</i>	<i>sub-</i>	3	2	1	4	9	1	15	7	
BROAD-	<i>total of</i>									
<i>names</i>										
<i>distribution by</i>										
<i>county</i>										
BED										
CAM										
ELY						1	1	1	1	
ESS	1			1		3		7	3	
HRT	2	2			3	4		5	3	
HUN										
MDX					1	1		2		

Distribution of BROAD- by county, sub-period and spelling type: Map 5.

Table 2 cont.: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /a:/ in early Middle English place names with BROAD-, OAK- and STONE- in name-initial position.

	DB	1101-1150	1151-1200	1201-1250						1251-1300							
<i>spelling</i>	a	a	a	au	a	o	a~o	a~au	a	o	a~o	au	a~au	o~au	a~ai	a~o~ay	
<i>item</i>	21	7	14	2	15	4	0	5	21	9	1	3	4	1	1	1	Distribution of STONE- by county, sub-period and spelling: Maps 6-8.
<i>sub-total of names</i>																	
<i>distribution by county</i>																	
BED	3		1	1		1		2**	1!					1			
CAM	1	1	2		1			1	1	1			1				
ELY			1			1				2							
ESS	8	3	5	1	8*			1	11!	4	1	3***	2				
HRT	3		2		* incl. an > am+b	2	1		! incl. an > am+b	1		** incl. an > aum+b					
HUN	2	1						1	1				1		1	1	
MDX	4	2	3		4!	1			5	1							
					! incl. an > am+m												
	a	a	o	au	a	o	a~o	a~au	a	o	a~o	au	a~au	o~au	a~ai	a~o~ay	Distribution of BROAD-, OAK- and STONE- by county, sub-period and spelling: Maps 1-3.
<i>total of names</i>	26	9	1	21	2	26	6	2	5	37	22	4	3	4	1	1	

Table 3 below lists all the place names attested with the items OAK-, BROAD- and STONE- in the corpus in DB and the period 1100 to 1300. The names, represented by their IDs, are arranged for each item separately by county. The total number of the names attested for each item is given at the end of each section of the table, in the column labelled with the heading ID. The types of spelling for Old English /a:/ found in each place name in each fifty-year sub-period are shown in appropriate columns. Empty cells indicate that the item is not attested in that sub-period. Each row gives the spelling history of a particular name. Table 3 thus, can be viewed as extension of Table 2 (p. 62) and a summary of the Data Appendix for variable Old English /a:/, as well as an aid to maps that show the history of the items.

Table 3: OE /a:/ history of spelling of individual place names when items OAK-, BROAD- and STONE- are in name-initial position.

The column labelled PDE shows the present-day English form of the name in capitals; when there is no PDE form of a name, the form of its last attestation before 1300 is given in *italics*; when a place was renamed after 1300, both its last attestation before that date, and the PDE name, which may no longer contain the item tested, are given.

Test item OAK-							
County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
BED	1H	a		a	a~o	a~o	OAKLEY
ESS	CW					o	NOAK HILL
	DJ					o	NOAK HO
	H3					o	OAKLEY (lost)
	HO					o	NOAKE'S FM
	JG	a		a	a	a~o	OAKLEY
HRT	PU				o	o	OAKHURST (lost)
	QP					o	OAK'S CROSS
HUN	UQ				o	a~o	OCKLEY (lost)
MDX	XQ			a	a	a	ACTON
TOTAL	10						

Test item BROAD-							
County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
ELY	9V				a		THE QUAY <i>Bradehide</i>
	9V					o	BROAD ST
	AK				a~o	a	BRADNEY FM

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
ESS	BC		o				HATFIELD BROAD OAK
	BC					o	BROAD STREET (GREEN)
	BJ					a	BROADLEY COMMON
	EP					a	BRADFORD MARSH
	EX				a		<i>Bradewerde</i>
	FP				a	a	BRADWELL-JUXTA-MARE
	HC				a		BRADWELL-JUXTA- COGGESHALL
	IU	a				a	BRADFIELD
	IU					a	STREET FM <i>Bradefeud</i>
	LV					a	BRADFIELD'S FM
	M7					a	BRADFIELD'S FM
	MG					o	BROADWATER FORD
	MM					o	THE BROADWAY
HRT	PR					o	BROAD FIELD
	Q6					o	BROAD FIELD
	QN		a				BROADWAY
	QZ	a		a	a	a	BROADWATER
	R3				a		BRAD CROFT
	RO	a		a	a		BROADFIELD
	RU		a				FRIARS WOOD and GRANGE <i>grangia de Bradefeld</i>
	RW			a	a	a	BRANDISH WOOD <i>Bradnache</i>
	XN					a	BRADMORE
	SM					a	LITTLE BRAID
	SQ					a	BRADLEY
	SS					o	BROADHOLME
MDX	XD					a	BROADFIELDS AVENUE
	XO			a		a	BROAD MEAD
	YA				a		BATTLEBRIDGE <i>Bradeford</i>
TOTAL	31						

Test item STONE-

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
BED	2X	a			a~au		STANFORD
	41	a		a	a~au	a	STANBRIDGE
	51	a		au	o	o~au	UPPER STONDON

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
CAM	6I					o	STANMOOR HALL
	6R					a	STONE FIELD
	96	a		a	a~au	a~au	LONG STANTON
	96				a		STANWELL FIELD
	9A		a	a			STANNEL WOOD
ELY	AL					o	STONALD FIELD
	AM			a	o	o	STONEA
ESS	BD					a	STANGROVE
	BJ					o	STONESHOT COMMON
	C8	a			a~au	a~au	STANFORD RIVERS
	CC			au	a	a~au	STONDON MASSEY
	DJ					a	PDE MISSING <i>Standune</i>
	EH	a			a	a	STANMER (lost)
	EJ					au	STANFORD-LE-HOPE
	FF	a		a	a	au	STAMBRIDGE
	FK					au	STONEBRIDGE
	G7	a	a	a		a	STANESGATE ABBEY (FM)
	GZ					o	STONEHILL FM
	IP					o	HART'S LANE <i>Stonhard</i>
	JZ			a			STANWELL ST
	KL	a	a	a	a	a	STANWAY
	KL					a	STANWAY HEATH
	L4					a	STANFORD FM
	LE	a	a		a	a	STANSTED HALL
	LU					a	STANLEY HALL
	M2	a			a	a	STAMBOURNE
	M3					o	STONE'S FM
	MP				a	a~o	NEWARKS (GREAT and LITTLE) <i>Stone</i>
	OA	a			a	a	STANSTED MOUNT-FITCHET <i>Stan(e)sted(e)</i>
	OA			a			PARKFIELD PLANTATION <i>de Stan(e)steda</i>
HRT	QY					a	STANBOROUGH
	SB	a			o		STONEBURY
	SR	a		a	a	o	STANDON
	SS	a		a	a	a	STANSTEAD ABBOTS

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
HUN	U2	a				a~ai	STANGROUND
	VB					a~o~ay	STONELY
	VH		a			a	STANGATE HILL
	W3	a			a~au	a~au	FEN STANTON
MDX	WK	a	a	a		a	STAINES
	WK				a		STAINES BRIDGE
	WL	a		a	a	a	STANWELL
	WL					a	STANWELLMOOR
	XE					o	WEALDSTONE
	XI	a		a	a	a	STANMORE
	XJ	a	a		a	a	WHITCHURCH <i>Stanmere</i>
	YJ				o		STONE CROSS (lost)
TOTAL	49						

Table 4: Spelling variation of Old English /a:/ in early Middle English place names with -OAK, -BROAD and -STONE in name non-initial position.

Spelling is indicated in angular brackets, e.g.: <a>; a tilde between angular brackets indicates that a name is attested with either of the letters in a particular sub-period, e.g.: <a>~<o>~<u>; plus sign indicates which letters appear in a sequence, e.g.: <h>+<o>.

OE /a:/	DB 1086	1101-1150	1151- 1200	1201-1250	1251-1300
-OAK	<a>	<h>+<o>	<a>	<a>~<e> <e>	<a> <o> <a>~<e>
-BROAD				<o>	<a>
-STONE	<a> <a>~<o> ~<u>	<a> <a>~<u>	<a> <a>~<o> <a>~<o> ~<u>	<a> <a>~<o> <o>~<u> <a>~<o>~<ay>~ <ey>	<a> <o> <a>~<o> <a>~<e> <a>~<o>~<u>~<ai>



Table 4 above summarises the situation in the place-name data in which the items -BROAD, -OAK and -STONE appear in name non-initial position from 1100 to 1300 (and in DB). -OAK and -STONE appear throughout this period; whereas -BROAD is attested in this corpus in the 13th century, when it appears with <o> exclusively in the first half and with <a> exclusively in the second half. -OAK appears with <a> exclusively in the DB data and in the second half of the 12th century. The dating of spelling <o> (-*hoke*) to the first half of the 12th century is uncertain.<sup>52</sup> The 13th century attestations of -OAK appear with <a>, <e> and <o> either exclusively or interchangeably. -STONE appears with <a> exclusively and with <a>, <o> and <u> interchangeably in the DB records. It continues to be spelt with <a> exclusively throughout the 12th and 13th century. Additionally, -STONE is attested with <a> and <u> interchangeably in the first half of the 12th century, with <a> and <o> interchangeably, as well as with <a>, <o> and <u> interchangeably in the second half. The variation is even greater in the 13th century: <a> and <o> interchangeably, <o> and <u> interchangeably and <a>, <o>, <ay> and <ey> interchangeably in the first half; <o> exclusively, in addition to <a> exclusively, <a> and <o> interchangeably, <a> and <e> interchangeably, and <a>, <o>, <u> and <ai> interchangeably in the second half.

Table 5 (p. 71) below gives more details about -BROAD, -OAK and -STONE in name non-initial position. It shows the numbers of place names found with different spellings in each county in fifty-year sub-periods for each item separately. This listing is similar to the one given for BROAD-, OAK- and STONE- in name-initial position in Table 2 (p. 62 above). For each element, total numbers of place names attested with each vowel spelling combination are given above the county counts. The results for the three elements are not summed up together because the vowel developments are item specific when the items appear in non-initial position. Like in Table 2 above, if a name is attested in more than one sub-period, and most place names in this group are, it is counted separately in each sub-period in Table 5. EASTON in ESS (location MS), is attested in each sub-period from 1100 to 1300 (and in DB) and counted each time together with all other names with the same spelling. The columns in Table 5 do not indicate how many names continue from one sub-period to the next, or how their spelling changes with time. A separate table, Table 6 (p. 73) traces the history of vowel spelling in each place name with -BROAD, -OAK and -STONE in name non-initial position in each fifty-year sub-period.

Table 5 (p. 71) shows increase in the data quantity in each fifty-year sub-period analysed in the 12th and 13th century (and in DB). -BROAD is the least frequently attested item of the three. It appears only in two sub-periods, from 1201 to 1250 and from 1251 to 1300, in one place name in HUN, one in MDX and two in ESS. -OAK is attested in six place

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52 See Footnote 49 p. 59

names altogether from the beginning of the 12th century to the end of the 13th century. Four of the -OAK names are located in north HRT, one is found in ESS and one in MDX. The locations of -BROAD and -OAK are shown on Map 9 (p. 89). -STONE in name non-initial position is attested in twenty place names from the beginning of the 12th century to the end of the 13th century. Four names are found in the first half of the 12th century and eleven in the second half; their distribution and vowel spelling history is shown on Map 10 (p. 90); the map also shows eight names found in DB. Twelve names come from the first half of the 13th century, shown on Map 11 (p. 91); and eighteen are attested in the second half, they are presented on Map 12 (p. 92). Although the numbers of attestation in name non-initial position are low, they are on the increase with time; the highest quantity of data is recorded in the second half of the 13th century. The trend is thus similar to that found in name-initial position for the three items.

Table 5: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /a:/ in early Middle English place names with -broad, -oak and -stone in name non-initial position.

		DB 1086	1101-1150	1151-1200	1201-1250			1251-1300						
<i>spelling</i>		a	o	a	a~e	e		a	o	a~e		Distribution of -oak by county, sub-period and spelling: Map 9.		
<i>item</i>	<i>sub-total of -oak</i>	1	1	3	1	1		2	2	1				
<i>distribution by county</i>														
	ESS		1											
	HRT	1		3	1	1		1	2	1				
	MDX							1						
<i>spelling</i>								o	a			Distribution of -broad by county, sub-period and spelling: Map 9.		
<i>item</i>	<i>sub-total of -broad</i>							2	2					
<i>distribution by county</i>														
	ESS								2					
	HUN							1						
	MDX							1						

Table 5 cont.: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /a:/ in early Middle English place names with -broad, -oak and -stone in name non-initial position.

		DB		1101-1150		1151-1200		1201-1250					1251-1300									
		1086																				
spelling		a	a~o~u	a	a~u	a	a~o	a~o~u	a	a~o	o~u	a~o~ay~ey	a	o	a~o	a~e	a~o~u~ai					
item	sub-total of names	7	1	3	1	6	4	1	7	3	1	1	4	6	6	1	1	Distribution of -STONE by county, sub-period and spelling: Maps 10-12.				
-STONE																						
distribution by county																						
BED	1						1		1						1							
CAM													1									
ELY									1													
ESS	1			1	1	1		1	1			1		2	1	1	1					
HRT	1			1		3			1	1			1	1	1							
HUN	2	1	1	1		1	3		2	2			2		3							
MDX	2					1			1		1			3								

Table 6 below lists all the place names attested with the items -OAK, -BROAD and -STONE in name non-initial position in the corpus in the period 1100 to 1300 (and in DB). The names are arranged for each item separately by county. The total number of the names ever attested for each item is given at the end of each section of the table. The types of spelling for Old English /a:/ found in each place name in each fifty-year sub-period are shown in appropriate columns: empty cells indicate that a name is not attested in this corpus in that sub-period. Each row gives the spelling history of a particular name. The table has two functions: it refines the results presented in Table 4 (p. 68 above) and Table 5 (p. 71), and it helps reading the information found on maps that trace the history of the items: see section 4.2.2 below. The full listing of the spelling data with dates and sources can be found in the Data Appendix for variable Old English /a:/ in name non-initial position.

Table 6: OE /a:/ history of spelling of individual place names when items -OAK, -BROAD and -STONE are in name non-initial position.

Test item -OAK							
County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	
ESS	BC		o				HATFIELD BROAD OAK
HRT	R6	a		a	a~e	a~e	STEVENAGE <i>Stevenach(e)</i>
	RA			a		o	LANNOCK
	RV					o	GANNOCK
	RW			a	e	a	BRANDISH WOOD <i>Bradnache</i>
MDX	XQ					a	EAST ACTON
TOTAL	6						

Test item -BROAD							
County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
ESS	E2					a	PDE MISSING <i>Suthbradeworde</i>
	NU					a	BURTONWOOD FM <i>B(o)urt(h)on(e)(brade)</i>
HUN	UJ				o		BROADWAY
MDX	XM				o		BROADFIELD
TOTAL	4						

Test item -STONE

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
<b>BED</b>	2P	a		a~o	a	a~o	WIXAMTREE <i>Wyston(e)stre</i>
<b>CAM</b>	8S					a	LONG STANTON FIELD FM
<b>ELY</b>	AL				a		STONALD FIELD
<b>ESS</b>	F7			a	a	a~e	LESTENESTON
	GS					o	INGATESTONE
	KL		a				STANWAY <i>Eststanweya</i>
	LL					o	BLOSSOMS LEYS <i>Blakestone(s)hey</i>
	MS	a	a~u	a~o~u	a~o~ay~ey	a~o~u~ai	EASTON
	MS					a~o	BAMSTER'S <i>Eystan</i> , <i>Eyston</i>
<b>HRT</b>	QB			a		o	BURSTON FM
	QI	a		a	a~o	a	HEXTON
	SC		a	a	a	a~o	LAYSTON
<b>HUN</b>	TW			a~o	a	a	OGERSTON
	UE	a	a	a~o	a~o	a~o	HURSTINGSTONE
	VA	a		a	a~o	a~o	KEYSTON
	VC	a~o~u		a~o	a	a~o	LEIGHTONSTONE
	W3					a	FEN STANTON
<b>MDX</b>	XP	a		a	a	o	OSSULSTONE
	XX					o	WHETSTONE
	YB	a			o~u	o	HAGGERSTON
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>20</b>						



## 4.2.2 Maps

The results summarised in Table 2 (p. 62), Table 3 (p. 65), Table 5 (p. 71) and Table 6 (p. 73) are here presented cartographically on twelve maps. Maps 1-8 show the distribution of items BROAD-, OAK- and STONE- in name-initial position and Maps 9-12 deal with -BROAD, -OAK and -STONE in name non-initial position.

Map 1: the increase in the amount of data in fifty-year sub-periods.

Map 2: the distribution of the vowel spellings, for all three items, from 1201 to 1250.

Map 3: the distribution of the vowel spellings, for all three items, from 1251 to 1300.

Map 4: the variation attested in OAK-.

Map 5: the variation attested in BROAD-.

Map 6: attestations of STONE-.

Map 7: the variation attested in STONE- in the first half of the 13th century.

Map 8: the variation attested in STONE- in the second half of the 13th century.

Map 9: the history of -BROAD and -OAK in name non-initial position from 1100 to 1300.

Map 10: the variation attested in -STONE in name non-initial position in the 12th century.

Map 11: the variation attested in -STONE in the first half of the 13th century.

Map 12: the variation attested in -STONE in the second half of the 13th century.

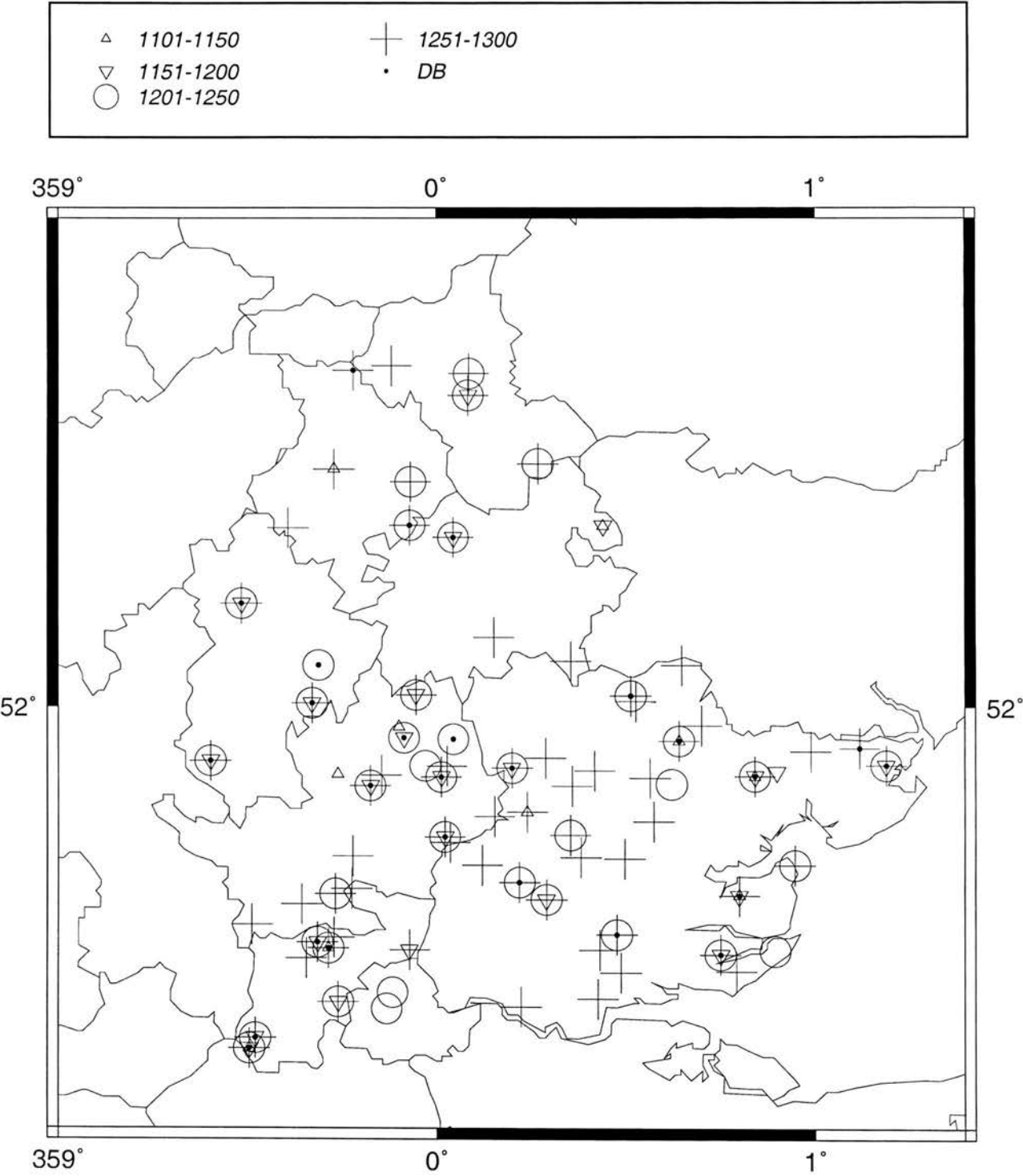
See the Key Map (p. 2) for the locations of the counties investigated.

The maps often have more than one symbol for a given location. This indicates that the name is attested in the sub-period represented by the symbols. Different symbols show changes that occur in the history of the name in the sub-period(s) which are presented on the map. This information is also obtainable from Table 3 (p. 65), Table 6 (p. 73) and from the Data Appendix. Occasionally, one ID corresponds to more than one name found in a given parish. Explanatory notes clarify such cases on specific maps. Further clarification can be found in Appendix F, which lists all the data geographically by county and parish.

There are two versions each of Map 2 and Map 8, one without the IDs, for clarity of the picture, and the second one (labelled Map 2a and Map 8a) with the IDs, for identification of the place names. Because of the complexity of the data displayed, there are four versions of Map 3: Map 3 and Map 3a show the data for 1251-1300 without the IDs and with the IDs respectively. Map 3b shows another layer, namely location points for the names attested from 1100 to 1250 (and in DB), in order to indicate the names that have earlier history. IDs for all the locations found on Map 3b are added as another layer on Map 3c.

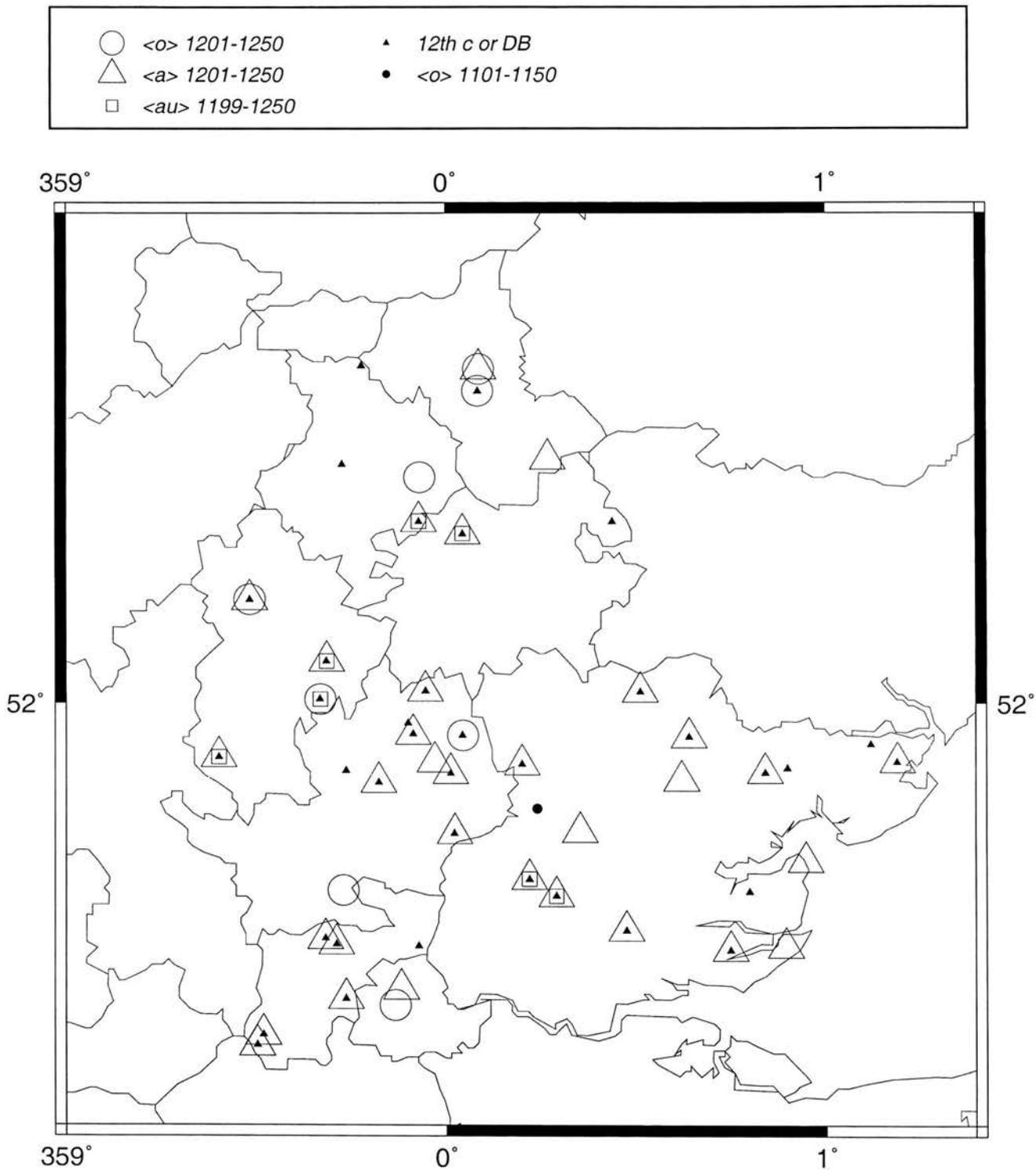
Map 1: Increase in the numbers of place names attested with BROAD-, OAK- and STONE- in fifty-year sub-periods: 1101-1150, 1151-1200, 1201-1250 and 1251-1300 (with DB locations for reference).

There are 10 place names attested in the first half of the 12th century and 23 in the second half; the numbers increase to 39 in the first half of the 13th century and to 73 in the second half (6 crosses, 4 in ESS, 1 in HRT and 1 in MDX, represent 2 place names each, in sub-period 1251-1300, see notes to: Map 3a p. 80, Map 5 p. 84, Map 6 p. 85); one circle in CAM represents two place names in sub-period 1201-1250 (see note to Map 7 p. 86). 26 place names are attested in DB. The majority of names are attested in more than one sub-period; this is indicated by the symbols being superimposed centrally on each other. Some symbols (or sets of symbols) overlap (but are not superimposed on each other centrally) because the place names they represent are located close to each other.



Map 2: Distribution of spellings with <o>, <a>, <au> in the period 1201-1250; with DB and 12th century data for comparison.

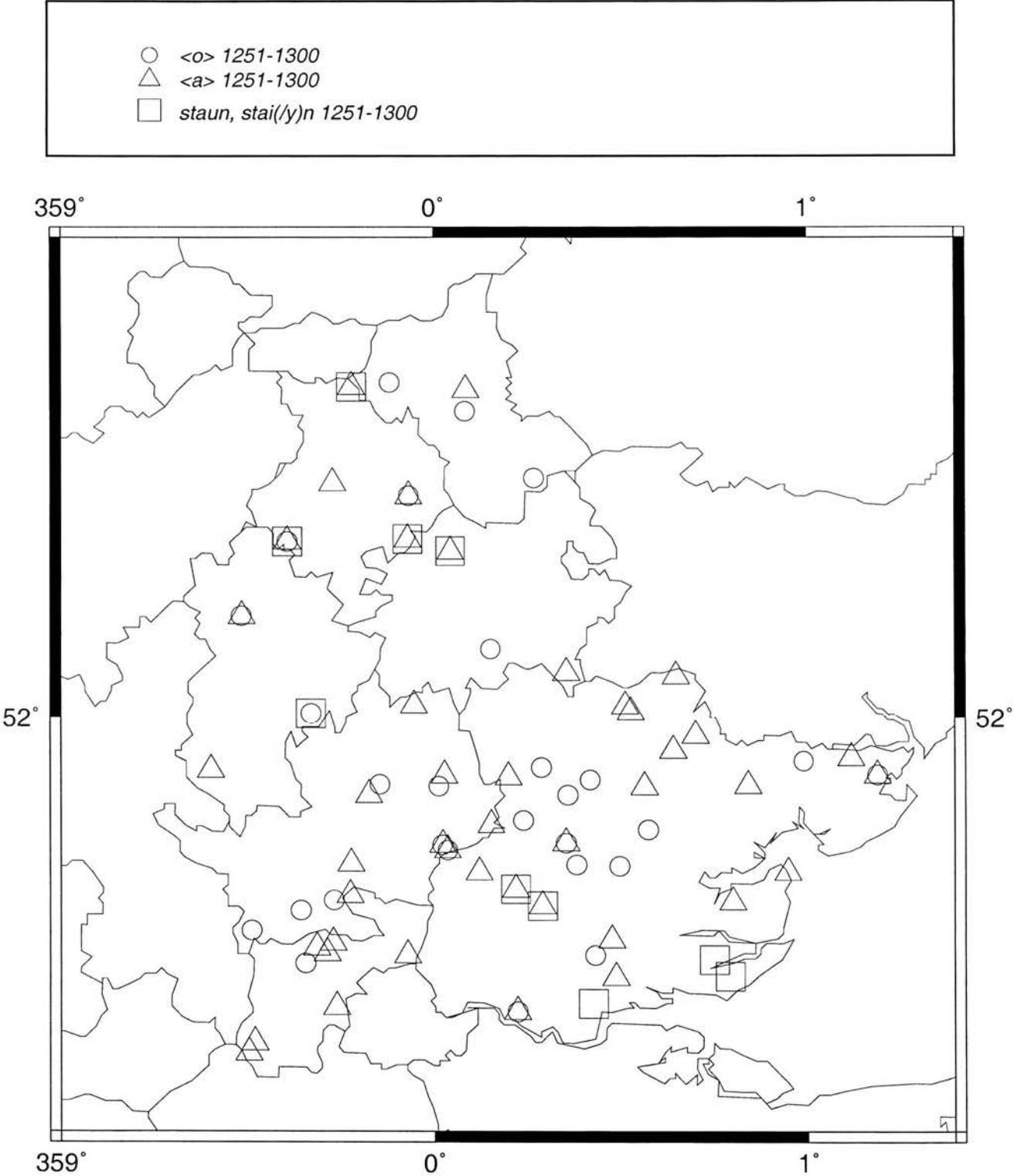
There are 8 <o> place names and 33 <a> place names (2 spelt with <o> and <a> interchangeably and 5 STONE- names spelt with <a> and <au> interchangeably); 5 STONE- names are spelt with <au> (all interchangeably with <a>); additionally 2 STONE- names are attested with <au> at the turn of the 13th century (in 1199 and 1200 respectively). See Map 2a (p. 78) with location IDs for identification of individual place names.





Map 3: Distribution of spellings with <o>, <a>, <au> and <ai/ay> in the period 1251-1300.

In the second half of the 13th century there are 28 <o> place names (22 spelt with <o> exclusively; 4 spelt with <o> and <a> interchangeably; 1 spelt with <o> and <au> interchangeably and 1 spelt with <a>, <o> and <ay> interchangeably), 47 <a> place names (37 spelt with <a> exclusively; 4 spelt with <o> and <a> interchangeably; 4 spelt with <a> and <au> interchangeably; 1 spelt with <a> and <ai> interchangeably and 1 spelt with <a>, <o> and <ay> interchangeably). Three locations represent two different place names each: one with <o> and one with <a>. 3 names are spelt with <au> exclusively. See Map 3a (p. 80) with location IDs for identification of individual place names.

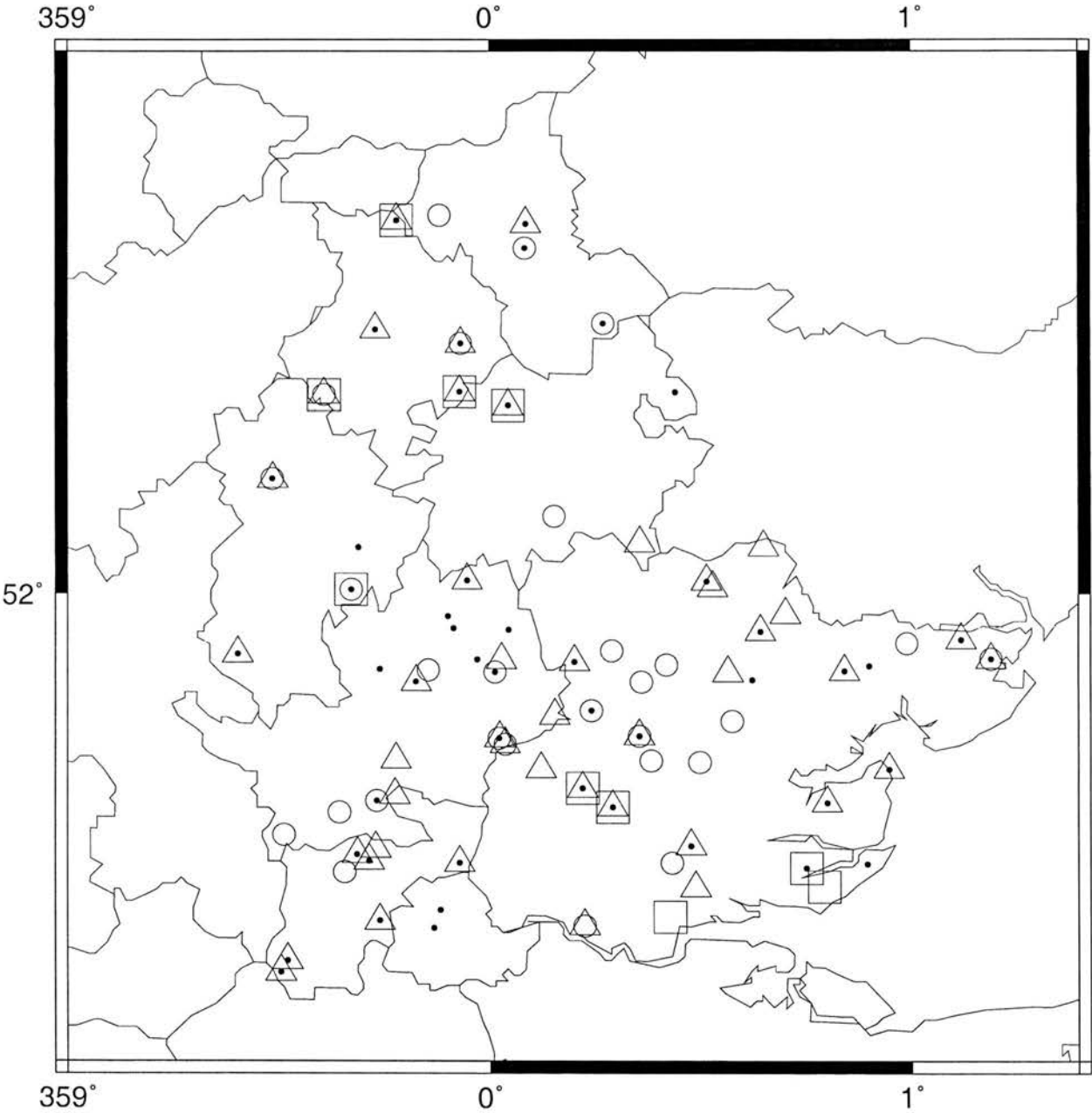
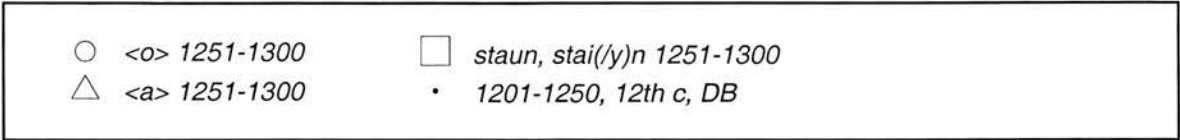






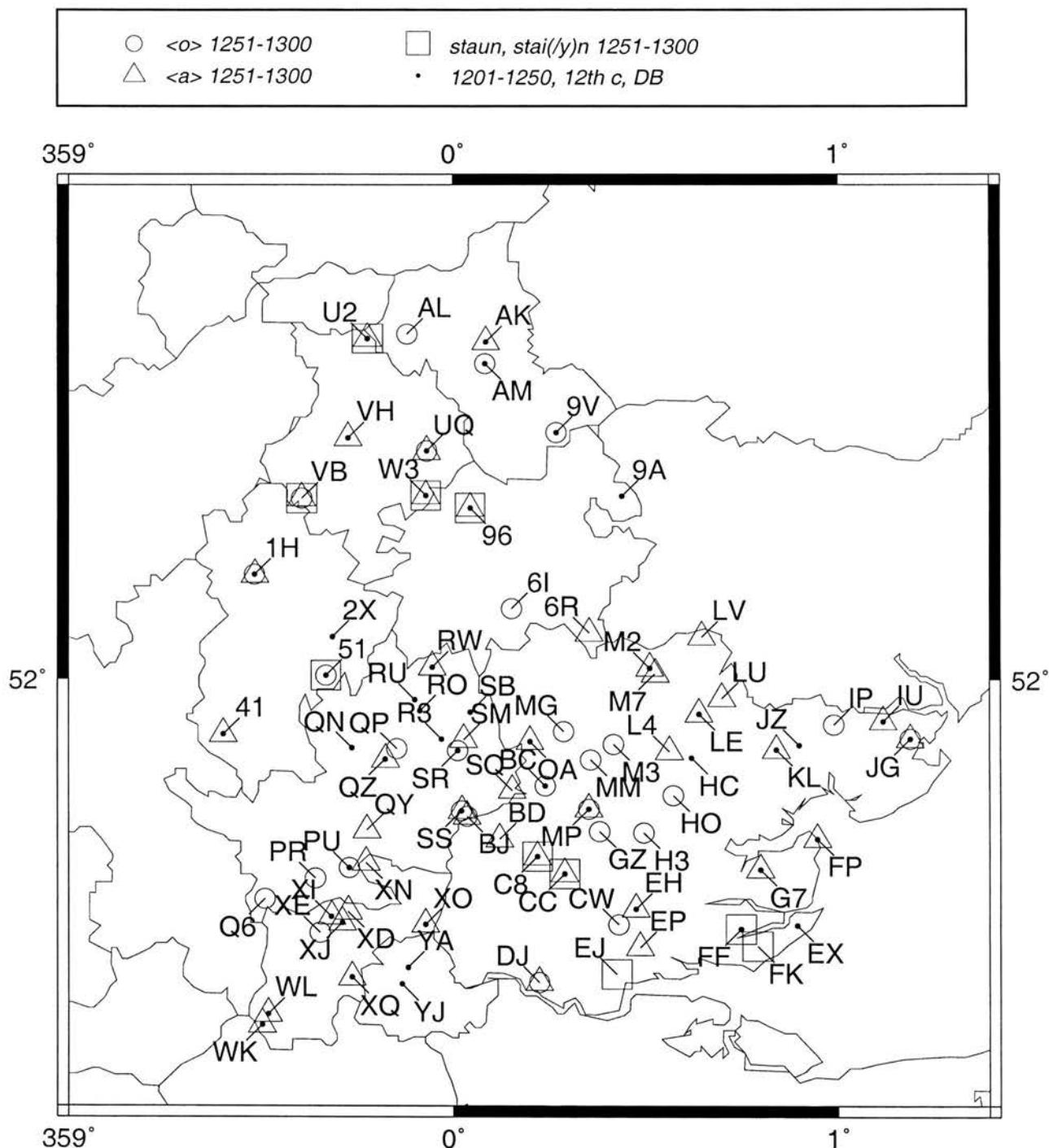
Map 3b: Distribution of spellings with <o>, <a>, <au> and <ai/ay> in the period 1251-1300; with locations from 1100 to 1250 (and in DB) for reference.

In the second half of the 13th century there are 28 <o> place names (22 spelt with <o> exclusively; 4 spelt with <o> and <a> interchangeably; 1 spelt with <o> and <au> interchangeably, and 1 spelt with <a>, <o> and <ay> interchangeably), 47 <a> place names (37 spelt with <a> exclusively; 4 spelt with <o> and <a> interchangeably; 4 spelt with <a> and <au> interchangeably); 1 spelt with <a> and <ai> interchangeably and 1 spelt with <a>, <o> and <ay> interchangeably. 3 names are spelt with <au> exclusively. See Map 3a (p. 80) and Map 3c (p. 82) with location IDs for identification of individual place names.

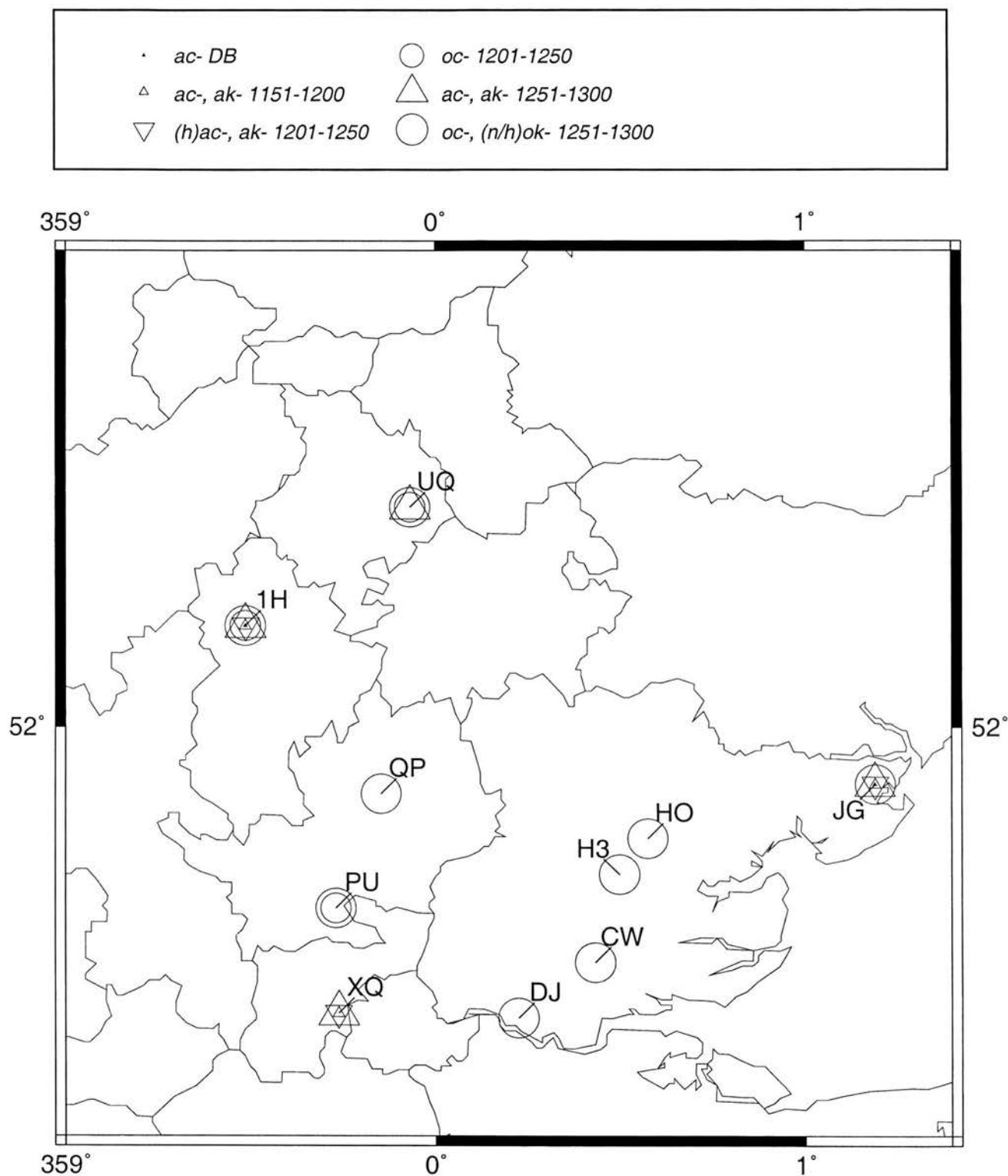


Map 3c: Distribution of spellings with <ou>, <a>, <au> and <ai/ay> in the period 1251-1300; with DB and 12th century and the first half of the 13th century locations (with ID tags) for reference.

In the second half of the 13th century there are 28 <o> place names (22 spelt with <o> exclusively XE, PR, PU, Q6, QP, SR, SS, DJ, CW, GZ, H3, HO, BJ, BC, MM, MG, M3, IP, 6I, 9V, AM, AL; 4 spelt with <o> and <a> interchangeably MP, JG, 1H and UQ; 1 spelt with <o> and <au> interchangeably: location 51 and 1 spelt with <a>, <o> and <ay> interchangeably VB), 47 <a> place names (37 spelt with <a> exclusively WK, WL (two names), XQ, XD, XJ, XI, XO, BD, DJ, EH, EP, G7, FP, BJ, OA, L4, KL (two names), IU (two names), LE, LU, LV, M7, M2, 6R, XN, QY, QZ, SM, SQ, SS, RW, 41, VH and AK; 4 spelt with <o> and <a> interchangeably (MP, JG, 1H and UQ); 4 spelt with <a> and <au> interchangeably CC, C8, 96, W3); 1 spelt with <a> and <ai> interchangeably U2, and 1 spelt with <a>, <o> and <ay> interchangeably VB). DJ, BJ and SS represent two different place names each: one with <o> and one with <a>. 3 names are spelt with <au> exclusively EJ, FF and FK.

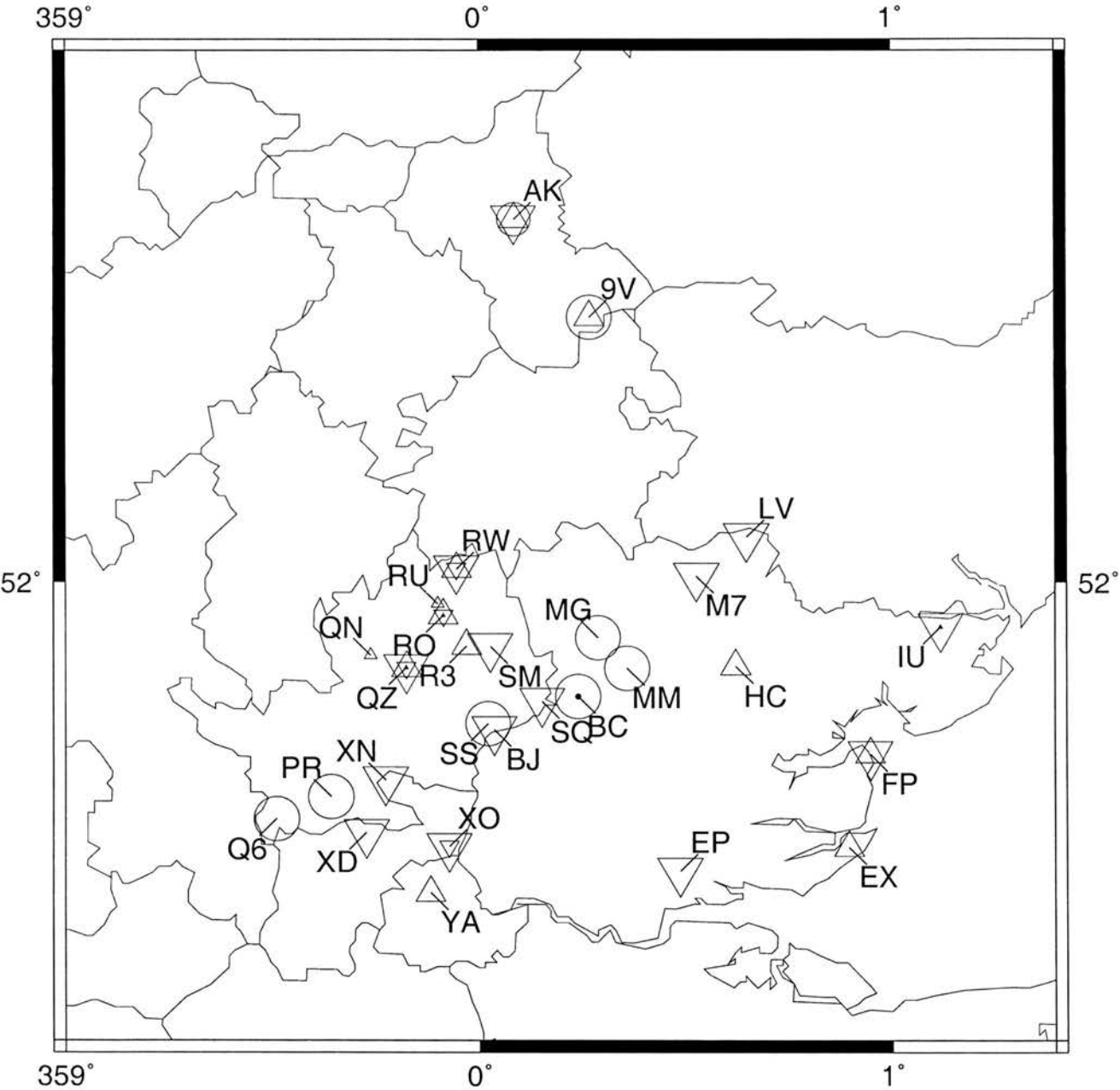
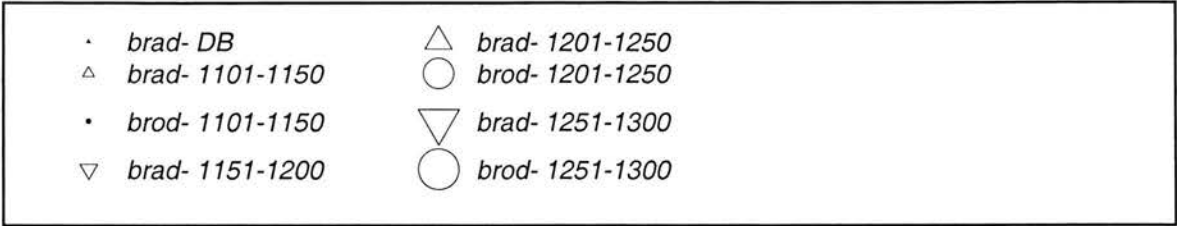


Map 4: Distribution and history of oAK- (in name-initial position) from 1100 to 1300 (with DB).



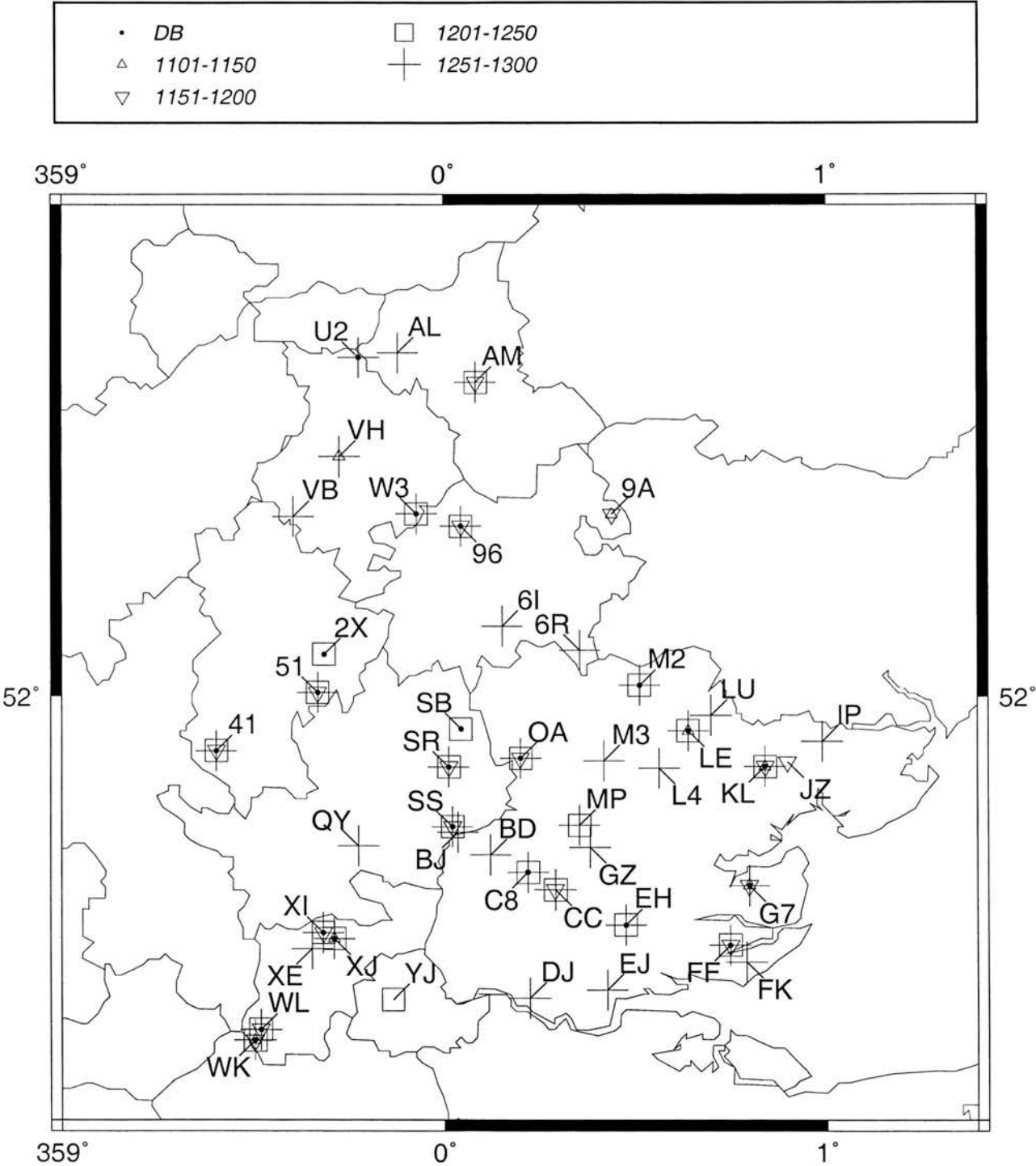
Map 5: Distribution and history of BROAD- names from 1100 to 1300 (with DB).

Two names are recorded at location IU (in ESS) in the second half of the 13th century: BRADFIELD and STREET FM (BROAD- name), both spelt with <a>. BC (in ESS) also represents two names, in two different periods: HATFIELD BROAD OAK in the first half of the 12th century and BROAD STREET at the end of the 13th century, both spelt with <o>. 9V (in ELY) represents two names, in two different periods: THE QUAY (BROAD- name with <a>) in the first half of the 13th century and BROAD ST (with <o>) in the second half of the 13th century.



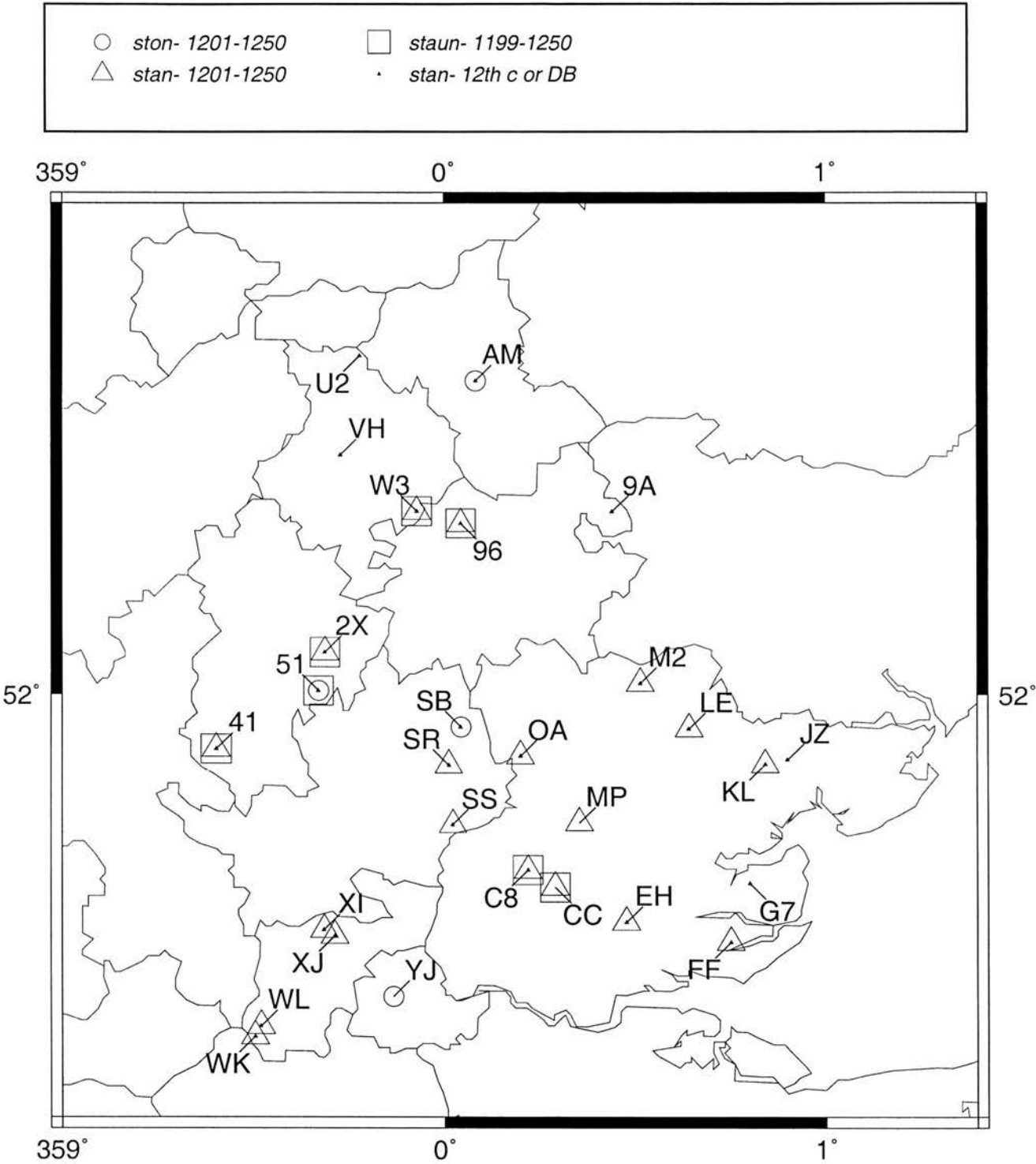
Map 6: Attestations of STONE- names from 1100 to 1300 (with DB).

Two names are recorded at location 96 (in CAM) in the first half of the 13th century: STANWELL FIELD and LONG STANTON. Two names are also recorded at location KL (in ESS) in the second half of the 13th century: STANWAY and STANWAY HEATH. Location OA (in ESS) also represents two separate names, in different periods: STANSTED MOUNTFITCHET in DB, the first and second half of the 13th century and PARKFIELD PLANTATION (STONE- name) in the second half of the 12th century. WL (in MDX) represents two separate names in the second half of the 13th century: STANWELL and STANWELLMOOR. WK (in MDX) represents two separate names, in different periods: STAINES in DB, the first and second half of the 12th century and the second half of the 13th century and STAINES BRIDGE in the first half of the 13th century.



Map 7: Distribution of variants of *stone-* in the period 1201-1250; with 12th century and DB locations for reference.

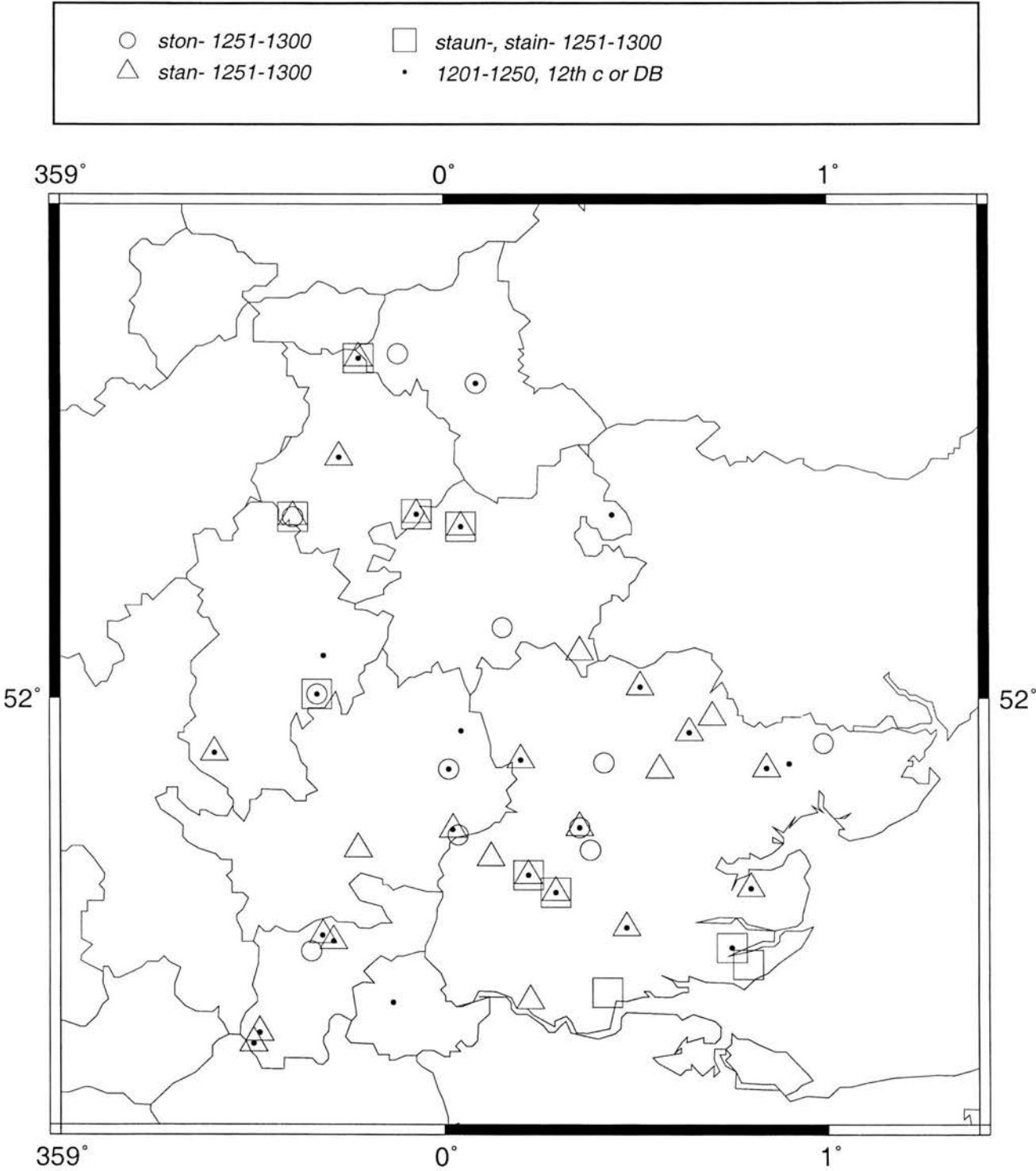
Two names are recorded at location 96 (in CAM) STANWELL FIELD with <a> and LONG STANTON with <a> and <au>. There are 4 names spelt with <o> exclusively (YJ, SB, 51 and AM) and 20 with <a> (15 with <a> exclusively 96, WK, WL, XJ, XI, FF, EH, CC, MP, SS, OA, KL, LE, M2, SR and 5 with <a> and <au> interchangeably C8, 41, 2X, 96, W3); 5 *stone-* names are spelt with <au> (all interchangeably with <a>); 2 further names are attested with <au> at the turn of the 13th century (51 in 1199 and CC in 1200).





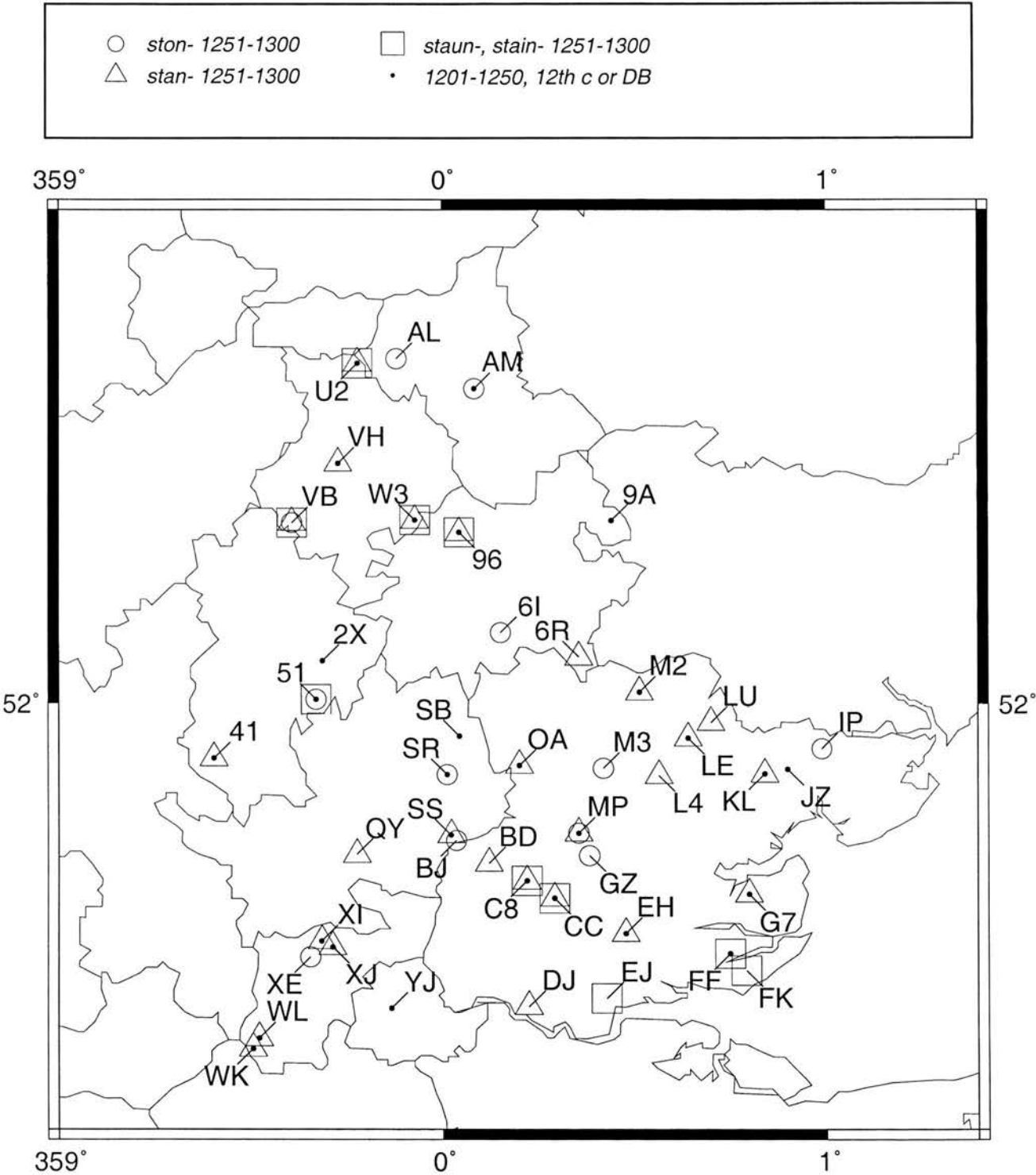
Map 8: Distribution of variants of STONE- in the period 1251-1300; with 1201-1250, 12th century and DB locations for reference.

There are 12 names spelt with <o> (9 with <o> exclusively; 1 with <o> and <a> interchangeably, 1 with <a>, <o> and <ay> interchangeably and 1 with <o> and <au> interchangeably), 28 names with <a> (21 with <a> exclusively; 1 with <a> and <o> interchangeably; 4 with <a> and <au> interchangeably; 1 with <a>, <o> and <ay> interchangeably, and 1 with <a> and <ai> interchangeably), 8 names are spelt with <au> (3 with <au> exclusively; 4 with <a> and <au> interchangeably; 1 with <o> and <au> interchangeably). See Map 8a (p. 88 in conjunction with Table 3 p. 65) with location IDs for identification of individual place names.

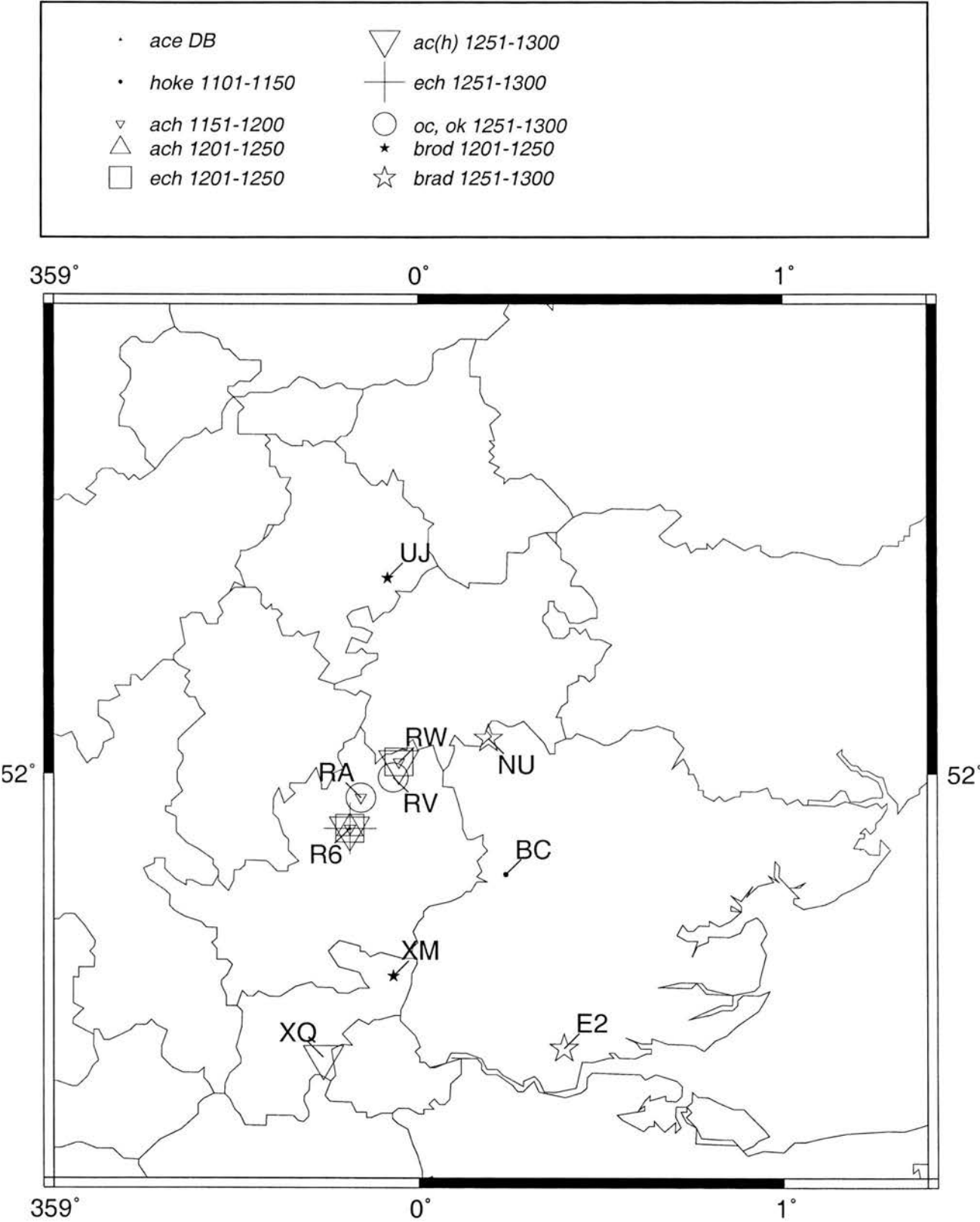


Map 8a: Distribution of variants of *stone-* in the period 1251-1300; with 1201-1250, 12th century and DB locations (with ID tags) for reference.

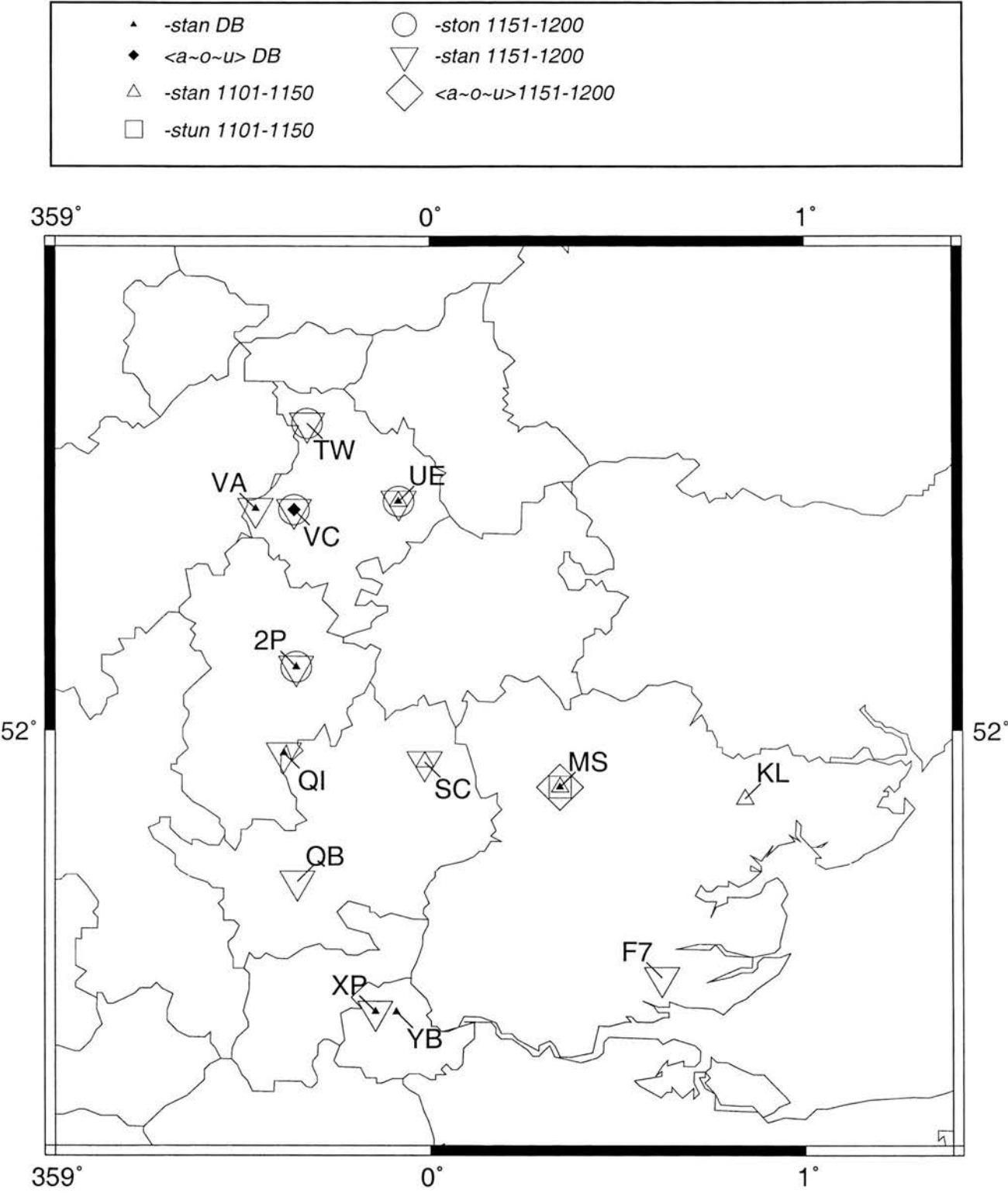
There are 12 names spelt with <o> (9 with <o> exclusively: XE, BJ, GZ, M3, IP, SR, 6I, AL and AM; 1 with <o> and <a> interchangeably MP, and 1 with <o> and <au> interchangeably 51 with <a>, <o> and <ay> interchangeably VB), 28 with <a> (21 with <a> exclusively: WK, WL (two names), XJ, XI, BD, DJ, EH, G7, QY, SS, OA, L4, KL (two names), LE, LU, M2, 41, 6R and VH; 1 with <a> and <o> interchangeably MP; 4 with <a> and <au> interchangeably C8, CC, 96 and W3; 1 with <a>, <o> and <ay> interchangeably VB, and 1 with <a> and <ai> interchangeably U2), 8 names are spelt with <au> (3 with <au> exclusively EJ, FF and FK; 4 with <a> and <au> interchangeably see IDs above; 1 with <o> and <au> interchangeably 51).



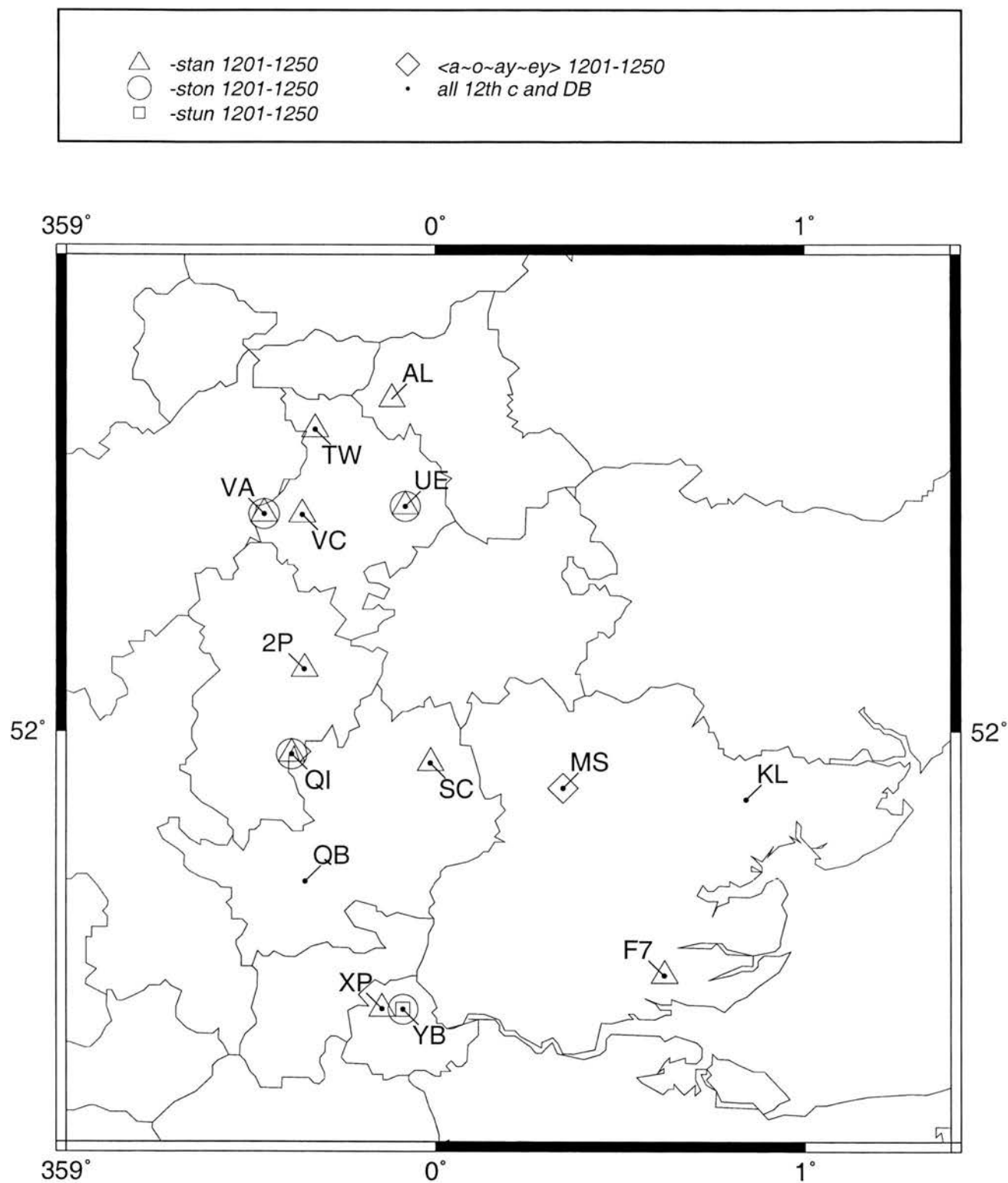
Map 9: Distribution of spellings -BROAD and -OAK (in name non-initial position) from 1100 to 1300 (with DB).



Map 10: Distribution of vowel spellings in -STONE (in name non-initial position) from 1100 to 1200 (with DB).

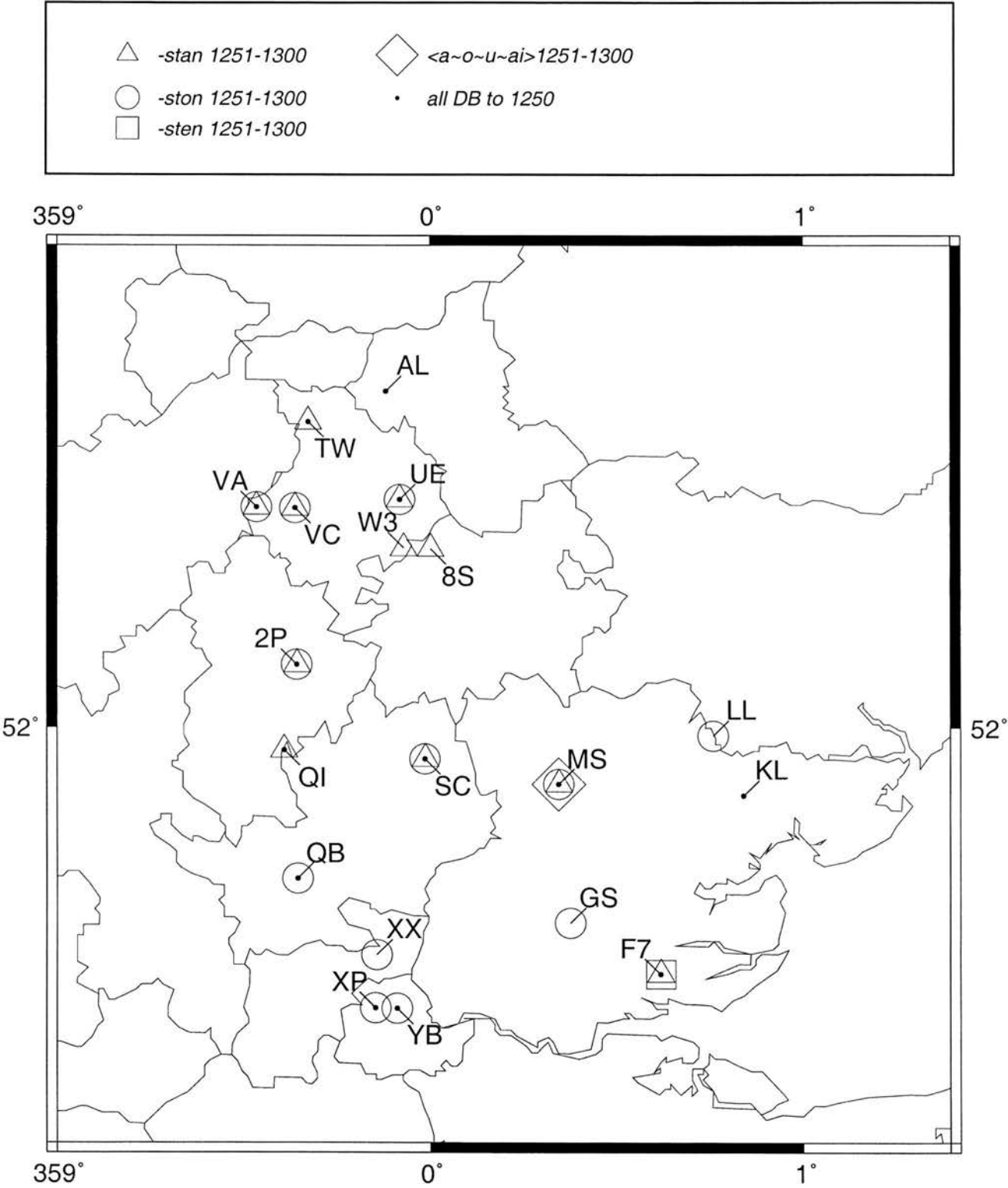


Map 11: Distribution of vowel spellings in -STONE (in name non-initial position) from 1201 to 1250 with 12th century and DB locations for reference.



Map 12: Distribution of vowel spellings in -STONE (in name non-initial position) from 1251 to 1300 with 1201-1250, 12th century and DB locations for reference.

Two names are recorded at location MS (in ESS) in the second half of the 13th century: BAMSTER'S (a -STONE name) with <a> and <o> interchangeably and EASTON with <a>, <o>, <u> and <ai> interchangeably.





### 4.2.3 Discussion

#### Items in name-initial position.

##### History of OAK-.

Map 4 (p. 83) shows the history of the item OAK- from 1100 to 1300 (with the DB data for reference). The total number of place names with OAK- (name-initially) is ten, and five of them are recorded for the first time in the second half of the 13th century. There are no OAK- names in CAM or in ELY. Two names appear early, in the DB, namely OAKLEY spelt *Achelai* in BED (1H) and OAKLEY spelt *Accleiam, Adem* (sic)<sup>53</sup> in ESS (JG). Both names are recorded with <a> in the second half of the 12th century. A third place name appears towards the end of the 12th century (in 1181): ACTON in MDX (XQ), spelt also with <a> *Acton(e)*. ACTON is spelt consistently with <a> throughout the 13th century and indeed in PDE; it is the Borough of Acton in London. Evidently the vowel was shortened during the late Old English period.

OAKLEY in BED appears with <a> and <o> spellings towards the end of the first half of the 13th century. One source, namely *Assize Rolls* (Ass) records both <a> *Acle, Akle* and <o> *Ocle* in 1247; six earlier sources (in the first half of the 13th century but before 1247) record the name with <a> only. In the second half of the 13th century, both *Acle*, and *Ocle, Okle(e)* spellings appear again in Ass dated 1276. It is not clear whether this should be regarded as a separate source from Ass 1247. Only <o> spelling *Ocle* is listed from a later Ass, dated to 1287.<sup>54</sup> <a> and <o> both appear in other sources from 1251 to 1300; however the spelling types do not co-occur together in any single source post-1276. The PDE form OAKLEY indicates that the <o> (and indeed <oa>)<sup>55</sup> spelling prevailed in the name's history after the early Middle English period.

How significant is it that <a> and <o> spellings appear from two different *Assize Rolls* at two different dates, as in Ass 1247 and 1276? Do the forms with <a> and <o> appear side by side and were they written in the same hand in the Ass for 1247, and by a different single scribe in Ass 1276? Is there any likelihood that sources so widely differing in date and compiled under different monarchs would have been written by the same scribe? Without recourse to detailed study of the manuscripts these questions must remain for future investigation. Further questions to be addressed are: were both <a> and <o> forms permissible in the scribe's usage; were *Acle, Akle, Ocle* and *Okle* in free

<sup>53</sup> The *d* in *Adem* is probably the result of letters *c* and *l* joining together, and the name should read *Aclem*, though it is not possible to say for sure without consulting the manuscript.

<sup>54</sup> It would be tempting to conclude that the Ass of 1287 indicates the change from <a> to <o>, however the last Ass listed for this name is dated to 1307 and records the item with <a>, namely *Acle*.

<sup>55</sup> <oa> is first listed c. 1750.

diagraphic variation or were <a> forms: *Acle*, *Akle* written in one hand and forms with <o> *Ocle* and *Okle* in another hand? Is Ass a representative document for the period? To what extent do the English entries record local English usage bearing in mind that the rolls were written in Latin? Are the rolls from which the spelling was taken copies of the original documents written on loose leaves, and if they are, did the copying process involve alteration of the spelling of the English names found in them? Much more information is needed for accurate linguistic analysis, besides statements that Ass contain records of itinerant justices and are classified as half-central documents (for example by Bohman (1944) Ek (1975) Carlsson (1989) and others).<sup>56</sup>

The data for OAKLEY in ESS tells a somewhat different story, <a> spellings continue for a longer period. The name appears with <a> until the 1290s; in 1226 (*Feet of Fines* FF) the spelling *Hacle*, with the initial *h-* is recorded once. <o> is found in the sources from the last decade of the 13th century: *Ocle* 1294 Pat, *Okle* 1298 FF. FF seems to be an interesting source type; the earlier FF (1219, 1226, 1256 and 1286) record the item OAK- in this name with <a> and the final (1298) FF has <o> spelling. FF are classified as central by Reaney (1925) and as half-central by others (Bohman 1944, Carlsson 1989); they contain records of particular fines, i.e. agreements of payment for the possession of property. They are another example of a Latin series of documents with English entries inserted in it. What does this mean for their applicability in dialectal research? The end of the 13th century seems to mark the permanent change of spelling from <a> to <o> for ESS OAKLEY (JG).<sup>57</sup>

Seven place names are recorded for the first time in the 13th century. The first 13th century OAK- name: OCKLEY *Ocleywode* 1245 (in For) in HUN (UQ) first appears with the <o> spelling; subsequently it is spelt once with <a> (*Acle(y)* 1254-67 AD i) and twice<sup>58</sup> with <o> (*Ocleywode* 1286 For and *Oklee* 1260 Ass) in the second half of the 13th century. The next OAK- name: OAKHURST in HRT (PU) is spelt only with <o> from 1248 (in FF) *Ochers* onwards,<sup>59</sup> once the form is *Hokersse* (13th AD iv) with the

56 Half-central sources are called undecided in this thesis. Liebl (2002, following Barbara Giffhorn 1978 *Untersuchungen zu den englischen Dialekten: Der me. Typus "waishen"*. [not published]) classifies these sources as undecided, which although it appears less positive than half-central, seems to be closer to the truth: we cannot decide whether they were more like central or more like local sources.

57 <o> outnumbers <a> nine to one in the later history of the name; moreover, the source which has the only <a> *Acle(e)*, Londin 1330, records <o> *Ockle*, *Occle* in the following year 1331; from then on all examples of the name are spelt with <o>.

58 The third occurrence of <o> *Occle*, although dated to mid-thirteenth century (1251), actually comes from a mid-fourteenth century cartulary, c. 1350 (Rams); the earlier date cannot be ascribed until the manuscript of the cartulary has been analysed for its linguistic features.

59 One form has been excluded from the data listing, as it is impossible to decide which period the spelling is from without assessing the source. The form is *Acersce* 944-6 (13th) in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (BCS 812). In this 13th-century copy of a 10th-century charter *Ac-*

initial *h*-: for the discussion of consonants see section 4.2.4 (p. 111) below. Further five place names appear in sources from the end of the 13th century: four of them are in ESS: NOAK HO (DJ) *Henry atte Noke*, OAKLEY (H3) *Ocle*, NOAK HILL (CW) *Richard ate Noke*, NOAKE'S FM (HO) *Thomas atte Noke* and one in HRT: OAK'S CROSS (QP) *Robert ate Noke*. Each of the last five names appears only once in the sources. Three (PU, UQ, H3) of the seven place names that were first recorded in the 13th century have not survived to the present day. Altogether one OAK- name is recorded with <a> (XQ), three with <a> and <o> (JG, 1H, UQ) and six with <o> (DJ, CW, H3, HO, PU, QP) at the end of the early Middle English period.

### History of BROAD-.

BROAD- is recorded with high proportions of <a> spelling in the data, even at the end of the 13th century (see Map 5 p. 84). This contrasts with the evidence from the element OAK- discussed above. Altogether twenty-two <a> names, one name with the interchangeable <a> and <o> spelling and eight <o> names were found in the data from 1100 to 1300.<sup>60</sup> The isolated early (1121-36 WDB) example of the <o> spelling found in *Hatfeld Brodehoke* (HATFIELD BROAD OAK in ESS, BC) may in fact come from the 14th century.<sup>61</sup> If HATFIELD BROAD OAK is put aside as uncertain, only seven names with the item BROAD- are spelt with <o> exclusively, and they all appear in the second half of the 13th century. They are spelt: *le Brodestrate* (BC),<sup>62</sup> *Brodstrete* (MM),<sup>63</sup> *brodewatere* (MG),<sup>64</sup> *Brodlane* (9V),<sup>65</sup> *Brodefeld* (PR),<sup>66</sup> *le Brodemade* (Q6)<sup>67</sup> and *le Brodeholm* (SS).<sup>68</sup> Three of them form a cluster in north-west ESS, near the HRT border, the fourth one is located south-west of them, across the border in HRT (location SS). Two further names are found close to each other in the south-west corner of HRT (Q6 and PR). The seventh name appears in ELY (9V), on the border with CAM. Each of the <o> names appears only once in the data and each comes from a different source.

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most likely preserves the 10th century spelling pre-dating the OE /a:/ to eME /ɔ:/ change, especially in the light of consistent <o> spellings recorded from 1248 onwards.

60 Three names with <a> are also recorded in DB.

61 See Footnote 49 (p. 59) about the uncertain dating of this record.

62 In a source called *Additional Charters in the British Museum* dated to the 13th century (source abbreviation: 13th AddCh).

63 In a source called *Registrum Cartarum Prioratus de Dunmawe* (Harl. MS 662, source abbreviation: 13th Dunmow).

64 In a source called *Cartulary of the Knights Hospitallers* (15th) (Cott. MS Nero E vi, source abbreviation: 13th StJohn).

65 In a source called *Rentals* (source abbreviation: Rental), unpublished documents at the British Museum, the Public Record Office and elsewhere.

66 In a source called *Westminster Domesday Book* (WDB).

67 In a source called *Cartulary of St Albans Abbey* (Cott. MS Nero D vii BM, source abbreviation: StAlbansO).

68 In a source called *Waltham Cartulary* (Harl. MS 391, source abbreviation: WalthamB).

Location BC represents two different names *le Brodestrate* BROAD STREET (GREEN) in the parish of HATFIELD BROAD OAK in the second half of the 13th century, and the parish name – itself recorded, with the uncertainty regarding the date, as *Hatfeld Brodehoke* in the first half of the 12th century. Each of the two symbols recorded for location 9V on Map 5 (p. 84) represents a separate name. The first symbol represents the spelling <o> and identifies *Brodlane* 1280 Rental (BROAD ST, ELY). The second symbol represents the spelling <a> and refers to a different name from the first half of the 13th century, (see below: *Bradehide* 1210 ElyM, THE QUAY, ELY).

There are three BROAD- place names in the DB: *Bradefeld*a (BRADFIELD in ESS, IU), *Bradewatre* (BROADWATER HUNDRED<sup>69</sup> in HRT, QZ) and *Bradefella* (sic), -felle (BROADFIELD in HRT, RO). All three continue to be spelt with <a> exclusively in the 12th and 13th centuries, and the ESS name has <a> in the PDE form. There is a steady increase in the number of place names with the item BROAD- in the 12th century and the 13th century. The 12th century data shows six names spelt with <a>, two come from the first half of the 12th century, both in HRT: *Bradeweya* (1119-46 Ch) (BROADWAY, QN) and *Bradefeld* p. 1150<sup>70</sup> Dugd v (FRIARS WOOD and GRANGE, RU). Neither of them appears again before 1300.<sup>71</sup> Four further names are found in the second half of the 12th century. Two are new names: *Bradenach* 1161-77 AD iii (BRANDISH WOOD in HRT, RW) and (*le*) *Brademade* 1197 FF (BROAD MEAD in MDX, XO); they are attested for the first time in this sub-period. The third and fourth names found in the second half of the 12th century: *Bradefeld(e)* (BROADFIELD in HRT, RO) and *Bradewathdr*<sup>72</sup> 1173 P, *Bradewater* 1175 P (BROADWATER HUNDRED in HRT, QZ), both also appear earlier in the DB.

There are nine names recorded with <a> in the first half of the 13th century. Four names are found in HRT, three in ESS, one in ELY and one in MDX. Two HRT names: *Bradefeld(e)* 1222 FF (BROADFIELD, RO) and *Bradewater(e)* 1221 FF (BROADWATER, QZ), also appear earlier in the DB and in the second half of the 12th century.<sup>73</sup> Another HRT name *Bradenech* 1221 FF (BRANDISH WOOD, RW) appears for the first time in the second half of the 12th century. The fourth HRT name *Bradecroft* 1211 FF (BRAD CROFT, R3) is attested only in the first half of the 13th century. The

69 Although this is a hundred name it is mapped because it comes from a localisable place: “*Broadwater* in the parish of *Knebworth*” (EPNS XV: 117, 130).

70 The abbreviation p. before the date indicates that the form post-dates 1150.

71 Later forms appear with <a> spelling for both names, the last one for BROADWAY (QN) comes from 1436, whereas the form in FRIARS WOOD and GRANGE, (RU) comes from the 16th century.

72 *Bradewathdr* is spelt with a tilde above each of the letters *t*, *h* and *d*.

73 BROADFIELD (RO) is subsequently spelt once with <a> in the 15th century and once with <o> in the 16th century.

remaining five names are also recorded for the first time in the first half of the 13th century. Three names are found in ESS: *Bradewerde* in 1244 AD ([PDE NAME MISSING] parish Foulness, EX), *Brad(e)well(e)* in 1212 Fees (BRADWELL-JUXTA-MARE, FP) and *Bradewell(e)* 1238 SR (BRADWELL-JUXTA-COGGESHALL, HC). One name is found in MDX (YA) *Bradeford* in 1207 FF. Finally, one name *Bradehide* (1210 ElyM) is attested in ELY (location 9V).<sup>74</sup>

There are no names recorded with <o> exclusively in the first half of the 13th century. One name BRADNEY FM (ELY, AK) is attested with the interchangeable spellings <a> and <o> in this sub-period: *Brod(h)ea* 1220-25 ElyCh i, *Bradenhee (piscariam)* 1221 ElyA, *Brodhe* 1225 ElyCh. It is recorded with the spelling <a> only *Brad(e)ne(-cote)* at the end of the 13th century (1298 Ass) and the PDE form is also spelt with <a>.

Fifteen names appear with <a> spelling in the second half of the 13th century. Six of them had appeared earlier: *Bradewater(e)* (BROADWATER in HRT, QZ) in DB, the second half of the 12th century and the first half of the 13th century, *Bradeford* (BRADFIELD in ESS, IU) in DB and *Brademedede* (BROAD MEAD in MDX, XO) in the second half of the 12th century. The remaining three place names are first found in the first half of the 13th century: *Brad(e)well(e)* (BRADWELL-JUXTA-MARE in ESS, FP), *Bradnache* (BRANDISH WOOD in HRT, RW), and *Brad(e)ne(-cote)* (BRADNEY FM in ELY, AK, with the spelling <a> and <o>).

Nine <a> names appear for the first time in the second half of the 13th century. Five of them are located in ESS: *Bradeleye* t. Hy 3 Waltham (BROADLEY COMMON, BJ), *Bradefeud* 1255 Ass (STREET FM, IU),<sup>75</sup> *Bradewerde Mariscus de North, Sud* t. Ed 1 (BRADFORD MARSH, EP), *Bradefeud* 1255 FF (BRADFIELD'S FM, LV) and *Bradefeud* 1272 Ass (BRADFIELD'S FM, M7). Three place names are found in HRT, two near the ESS border, *Brade* 13th AD iv ( LITTLE BRAID, SM) and *Bradelegesfeld* 1257 Ass (BRADLEY, SQ), and the third one *Brademere* 1296 SR (BRADMORE, XN) is on the MDX border. One name is found in MDX, *Bradfeld* 1281 Ct (BROADFIELDS AVENUE, XD).

The author (EPNS XII) excludes BROAD- in the following ESS names from the first half of the 13th century: *Bradebrock* 1248 Ass (BIRDBROOK), *Brad(e)feud* 1235 Ass (BARDFIELD) and *Bradford, Bredeford* 1248 Ass (BRADFORD HO). The first two

<sup>74</sup> Location 9V also represents spelling <o> in another name in the second half of the 13th century: *Brodlane* 1280 Rental (BROAD ST, ELY).

<sup>75</sup> Thus, IU represents two names in the second half of the 13th century, BRADFIELD and STREET FM, both spelt with <a>.



may indicate that the copyist misascribed the etymology, whereas the last name may derive from the OE noun *brædu* as opposed to the adjective *brad-*, (for further details see section “Not mapped” in the Data Appendix, item BROAD-, period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>). All three names were recorded in a half-central source (undecided source), the Assize Rolls (Ass). Interestingly, BIRDBROOK is spelt not only *Bradebrock* but also *Brid(e)brok(e)* in the 1248 Ass. Later Ass (1285) records only *Briddebrok(e)*. Given that the majority of forms for this name have the item BIRD- not BROAD-, it seems most likely that the *Brade-* form was originally taken down in error by a scribe unfamiliar with the place and its history. It would be interesting to discover, from a perusal of the manuscript source, whether both *Brade-* and *Bride-* forms in 1248 Ass were written by the same scribe.

### History of STONE-.

STONE- is the most frequently occurring item with reflexes of OE /ɑ:/ in the data; see Map 6 (p. 85) alongside Map 4 (p. 83) and Map 5 (p. 84). There are twenty-one STONE- names in the DB data and they are all spelt with <a>, see Table 2 (p. 62) and Table 3 (p. 65), and Map 6 (p. 85) for their geographical distribution. All twenty-one names re-appear later in the 12th century and/or the 13th century. <a> spellings exclusively continue throughout the 12th century; additionally two names with <au> spelling occur at the turn of the 12th century; <a>, <o>, <au> and <ai> are found in the 13th century data. Seven names, all spelt with <a> exclusively, were found in the data from the first half of the 12th century. Three names come from ESS, *Stanagatam* (STANESGATE ABBEY FM, G7)<sup>76</sup> and *Stanuueie* (STANWAY, KL) and *Stansteda* (STANSTED HALL, LE); two names are located in MDX, (*æt*) *Stane* (STAINES, WK) and *Stanmera* (WHITCHURCH, XJ); these five names were also found in DB. The sixth name, *Stangate* (UPTON, VH) in IIUN, appears in the data for the first time in 1146, and the seventh place name, *Stahulla* (STANNEL WOOD, 9A) in CAM is first attested c. 1135. STONE- appears in sixteen place names in the second half of the 12th century, *stan-* is recorded in fourteen names and *staun-* is found in two names; eleven of these place names are also found in DB (41, 51, 96, FF, G7, KL, SR, SS, WK, WL and XI). Altogether, only four STONE- place names made their first appearance in the data from 1151 to 1200; three names have the item STONE- spelt with <a> (AM, JZ, OA, one of the two names recorded in this parish) and one place name appears with <au> (CC). The locations of the 12th century STONE- names are shown on and Map 6 (p. 85) and Map 7 (p. 86).

<sup>76</sup> G7 [*Stanes*]-gate 1254 FF, *Stan(e)gate* 1295 Pat; subsequently also with <ay> *Stayngat(e)* 1337 Cl, Fine, Pat, 1341 Cl.



The first occurrence of <au> spelling in the item STONE- is found in 1199 (FF) in a BED place name UPPER STONDON (51), spelling *Staundon*. A second example of <au> appears in *Staundune* in ESS (STONDON MASSEY, CC). It is recorded in a 12th century copy of a document of 1062.<sup>77</sup> It is impossible to know whether <au> appeared in the original document or whether as is perhaps more likely the 12th century copyist is responsible for it. More <au> spellings appear in later sources: five STONE- place names are spelt with <au> in the data belonging to the first half of the 13th century; all these names are also found with <a> spelling in that period. Two names come from BED, one from CAM, one from ESS, and one from HUN; the spellings are as follows:

*Stamford* 1202 Ass, 1247 Ass, *Staunford* 1227 Ass, 1238 FF, 1247 Ass; (2X BED), STANFORD,

*Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1220 LS, 1242 Fees 867, *Stanbrig(g)e*, *Stanbrygge* 1202, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, Cl, *Staunbrig(g)* 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, *Stanburgh*<sup>78</sup> 1227 Ass, *Stantbrig* 1240 Ass; (41 BED), STANBRIDGE,

*Stantun* c. 1250 SR, *Stanton(e)* c. 1250 ElyA, *Staunton(e)* 1205 RBE;<sup>79</sup> (96 CAM), LONG STANTON,

[*Stan*]-(*e*)*ford* 1212 RBE, *Staunford* 1243 Cl, 1246 FF;<sup>80</sup> (C8 ESS), STANFORD RIVERS,

*Stantun(e)* 1234 Cl, *Staunton* 1227 Ass, 1229 *Bract*, 1234, 1236, 1238 Cl; (W3 HUN), FEN STANTON.

The distribution of the above names is shown on Map 7 (p. 86). All five names also occur in the DB data, with the spelling <a>.

There are eight STONE- place names recorded with <au> in the second half of the 13th century. Three names appear with <au> exclusively, four names are recorded with <a> and <au> interchangeably, and one name with <o> and <au> interchangeably in that period. The <au> spellings are as follows:

*Staunford* 1267 FF; (EJ ESS), [PDE NAME MISSING],<sup>81</sup>

77 The EPNS spelling comes from Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* (KCD 813) published from 1839 to 1848. Sawyer (1968), however, dates the charter to the 13th century.

78 The history of the name shows confusion between *-bridge* and *-burgh* in the second element of the name.

79 A form with <ai> has been found in the later data, namely *Long Stainton* 1438 IpmR.

80 In this period, *stan-* was found in a non-initial position in this name once: *Estanford* 1236 EAS xx.

81 *stan-* forms appear in the data after 1300 as follows: *Stanford* 1068 (1309) EHR xi, *et passim*, (*-upon-Thames*) 1338 Cl, (*in the Hope*) 1361 FF, (*in le Hope, Hoop*) 1475, 1485 IpmR, (*Le Hope*) 1535 VE, *Staneford by Horndon* 1342 Ipm, *Stanvorde* 1412 Pat, *Standford* 1068 (1377) EHR xi, *Standeford Le Hope* 1535 VE, *Stanbrok (alias Stanford)* 1324 Ipm, *Stamford* 1348, 1349 Pap, *Stamvert, -verd Le Hope* 1662, 1678 Stifford]

*Staunbregg'* 1261 FF, *Staumbrugge* 1279 FF; (FF ESS), STAMBRIDGE,<sup>82</sup>  
*Staunbrigge* 1279 FF; (FK ESS), STONEBRIDGE.

All three places are located in the south-east of ESS, see Map 8 (p. 87) (and Map 8a, p. 88). All three names are recorded in FF (*Feet of Fines*); two of them, *Staumbrugge* (location FF) and *Staunbrigge* (FK) come from FF dated to the same year, 1279. EJ and FK appear for the first time in this corpus in this sub-period. FF appears also with the spelling <a> in the first half of the 13th century, in the second half of the 12th century and in DB.

The <a> and <au> spellings are as follows:

*Stanton(e)* 1254 Val, 1285 Ass, 1281 Ipm, *Staunton(e)* 1272 Ass; (96 CAM), LONG STANTON,

[*Staun*]-*don(e)* 1291 Tax, [*Staun*]-*den(e)* 1295 [Ipm], [*Stan*]-*dun'* 1255 FF; (CC ESS), STONDON MASSEY,

[*Stan*]-(*e*)*ford* (*ryueres juxta Aungre*) 1289 Ass, 1292 FF, *Staunford* 1255 Ass, 1285 QW; (C8 ESS), STANFORD RIVERS,

*Staunton* 1253 Ch, 1254, 1257 FF, 1286 Ass, *Stanton* 1257 FF, 1280 Ch, 1286 Ass, 1292 Ch, *Staunton* 1272 FF; (W3 HUN), FEN STANTON.

All four names were recorded in a variety of undecided and central sources. Ass and FF are the most frequent sources of data and have six records each. *Staunton* and *Stanton* (FEN STANTON) appear interchangeably in FF in 1257 and in Ass in 1286. Map 8 (p. 87) and Map 8a (p. 88) and Table 3 (p. 65) show that all four names occur both in the first half and the second half of the 13th century. Three of them W3 (HUN), 96 (CAM) and C8 (ESS) have <a> and <au> in spelling in the first half of the 13th century, whereas CC (ESS) is recorded with the spelling <a>. C8, W3 and 96 occur for the first time in DB, with the spelling <a>. CC is not attested so far back and when it first appears, it is recorded with <au>.

And finally, the <o> and <au> spellings are as follows:

*Staundon* 1276, 1287 Ass, 1291 Tax, AD iv, *Stondon(e)* 1252 FF, 1276, 1297 Ass; (51 BED), UPPER STONDON.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>82</sup> *stan*- forms appear in the data before 1251 (see the *stan*- data above) and after 1300 as follows: *Stanbruge* (*Moche*-) 1503 Ipm, *-bregg(e)* 1328 Londin, *-bridge* (*Mekill*) 1493-1500 ECP, (*Myche*) 1548 EAS xiii, 1768 M, *Stanyngbrugg* 1363 Londin, *Parva Stannebryght* 1412, *Stambrigge* 1428 FA, *much*e *Stambridge* 1578 Rental, *Great Standbridge* 1552 FF

<sup>83</sup> The DB entry *Standone* is followed by a comment “*et passim* to 1712 BM” (EPNS III: 177); this indicates that the spelling with <a>: *Standone* appear occasionally in records until 1712; it is not clear whether any *stan*- forms appear in the period 1100-1300 as dates and sources are not provided.

UPPER STONDON is the first place name to appear with the spelling <au> in this corpus in 1199 (see the discussion above). In the first half of the 13th century, it is spelt with <o> *Stondon(e)*, and in the second half of the 13th century with <o> (in FF and Ass) and <au> (in Ass, Tax and AD). The spellings are recorded in undecided and central sources; one time, in 1276, both *Stondon(e)* and *Staundon* are recorded in one undecided source, Ass, possibly side by side.

<au> spellings have previously been found in place-name data: in Sussex by Rubin (1951), in Worcestershire by Sundby (1963: 26, 37) and in various counties by Kristensson (SMED 1-4). Rubin (1951: 124) records one instance of <au> in the item STONE- in STANDEAN in East Sussex, spelt *Staun-[den(e)]* in Pat dated to 1228. SMED 1 (Kristensson 1967: 25) records *staun-* forms in three place names in the seven counties it covers. One *staun-* form (alongside *stan-*) comes from the 1332 LSR in the name STANLEY in West Riding of Yorkshire. Two occurrences of *staun-* are recorded in Kesteven-Holland, Lincolnshire, dated to 1327: one *staun-* for STAMFORD<sup>84</sup> and another one in *atte Staunburnes* 1327, naming a place that no longer survives. SMED 2 (Kristensson 1987) records nineteen *staun-* forms in the eleven West Midland counties. SMED 3, which covers eleven East-Midland counties, records one *staun-* form, in 1307, for the name STANDON in HRT (Kristensson 1995: 12).<sup>85</sup> No *staun-* names are recorded in SMED 4, covering the nine southern counties (Kristensson 2001). However, the majority of <au> spellings are not attested in the item STONE-; instead they are found in words with OE short *a* in the context of the following homorganic consonant clusters, both voiced and voiceless, for example OE *camp*, *land*, *strang*, etc.<sup>86</sup>

The earliest <au> data presented here from the EPNS corpus come from the very end of the 12th century and the 13th century and thus agree with the chronology suggested by Jordan-Crook (1974). It may not be insignificant that all these *staun-* forms occur when the item STONE- is in name-initial position and followed by a dental or a labial consonant: *-d* (when combined with *-don*), *-t* (when combined with *-ton*), or *-f* (when combined with *-ford*), or *-b* (when combined with *-bridge*) – making the structure of the *staun-* names

84 Quoted from Ekwall 1960.

85 The form is not recorded in EPNS XV (p. 196).

86 Rubin (1951: 21-5) records <au> for *amore* 'a bird' (sources FF and Ass), *Anna* (source FF), *camp* (source Ass), *Frank* (sources LSR and Ct), *land* (source LSR) and *sand* (source Pat). Sundby (1963: 25-38) records <au> for *Ambr* (sources Ch, LSR), *Frank* (*Calendar of Close Rolls* (Cl) in PRO, London 1892 ff., *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments of the Lyttelton Family* (Lyt) London 1893, *mangere* (source Ipm), and *sand* (source Ass) in the 13th century and later. Kristensson's examples of <au> spellings for OE short *a*, all later than 1300, occur in the words *\*pamp*, *brand*, *land*, *sand*, *lang*, *mangere*, *\*Brant*, *blank*, *cran*, *Fran* (*c*)*kis* (in SMED 1, Kristensson 1967: 3-16); *\*Ambr*, *brand*, *land*, *sand*, *strang*, *wrang*, *camp*, *\*Brant*, *Frank* (in SMED 2, Kristensson 1987: 2-17); *\*Brant*, *camp*, *\*Canta*, *cran*, *cranuc*, *land*, *rand*, *sand*, *anger*, *hanga*, *mangere*, *strang*, *Frank* (in SMED 3, Kristensson 1995: 1-6); and in *brand*, *land*, *sand*, *lang*, *strang*, *Frank*, *sc(e)ank* (in SMED 4, Kristensson 2001: 16-24).

more similar to Old English words such as *sand*, or *camp*; and the French words in which the process began, e.g.: *chaunce*, *laumpe*. The cluster-like status of the final *-n* of *staun-* and the following consonant may have been possible even across the morpheme boundary because the boundary may have been less obvious due to special status of elements in place names (Davis 1968, Clark 1992 a,b). There is further evidence of linguistic processes at morpheme juncture in the item *STONE-*, discussed in section 4.2.4 (Item *STONE-* with *-m.* p. 112) below.

Pope (1934: §1152) explains that velarised and nasalised <a> was spelt with <aun> in the 13th century French loan-words and in Anglo-French texts. Later <aun> was used for <on> where <o> represented a long unrounded vowel /ɔ:/. <au> for <a> and <au> for <o> in English place-name elements has been attributed to Anglo-French spelling practices.<sup>87</sup> Whether this was the case or not, the spellings recorded for *STONE-* seem to be equivalent graphs, or members of a Litteral Substitution Set (LSS) (Laing 1999), especially when they appear in one source dated to the same year. For example:  
 Ass 1227, *Stanbrygge*, *Stanburgh* and *Staunbrig(g)* (STANBRIDGE, 41 BED),  
 Ass 1247, *Stamford* and *Staunford* (STANFORD, 2X BED),  
 Ass 1276, *Staundon* and *Stondon(e)* (UPPER STONDON, 51 BED),  
 FF 1257 and Ass 1286, *Staunton* and *Stanton* (FEN STANTON, W3 HUN).<sup>88</sup>

Locations W3, 96, 2X, 41, 51, C8, CC and FF on Map 7 (p. 86) and Map 8 (p. 87) may show the stages of the change from *stan-* in the DB and the 12th century, through *staun-* at the turn of the 13th century, to *ston-* and *staun-* at the end of the 13th century. It may not be possible to decide whether <a>, <au> and <o> represented the same quality vowel or whether at one time <a> and <au> were closer together and <o> separate, and later <au> and <o> closer together and <a> separate for a given name that had all three vowel graphs in its history. There are no records of all three used in one source at the same time for one name, but this may be due to the accidental nature of our records. For example, UPPER STONDON (51, BED) has <a>, <au> and <o> spellings at various points. The DB entry *Standone* is followed by a comment “*et passim* to 1712” (EPNS III: 177). This indicates that the spelling *Standone* with <a> appeared in records until 1712, however the record is not detailed enough to decide whether any *stan-* forms are attested in the period 1100-1300.

87 As suggested by Rubin (1951), Sundby (1963) and Kristensson (SMED 1-4), following Luick (1964: §414.2) and Jordan (Jordan-Crook 1974: §224 III).

88 See also examples of *Faum-* for *FEN-* in section 4.6.4 (p. 235) below.

### Sources of the <au> data.

The forms with <au> appear alongside those with <a> and <o> (in one name) in a variety of sources: central, local and undecided. *Calendar of Charter Rolls* (Ch), *Calendar of Close Rolls* (Cl), *Red Book of the Exchequer* (RBE), are among the central ones, *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* and unpublished Deeds at the PRO (AD) are local; whereas *Bracton's Note-book* (Bract), *Book of Fees* (Fees), *Inquisitions post mortem* (Ipm), *Placita de Quo Warranto* (QW), *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (Tax) are undecided. In fact, *staun-* forms are found more frequently in Ass and FF than in other sources. Ass and FF are classified as half-central documents (Bohman 1944, Ek 1972, 1975); they are called “undecided” here (following Liebl 2002). The traditional explanation in terms of the Anglo-French spelling conventions has been questioned by Clark, for example, in her article about the myth of the Anglo-Norman scribe (Clark 1992 c). The notion of LSS (Literal Substitution Sets) (Laing 1999) should be explored in place names as it may bring more satisfactory explanations than earlier attempts have.

### History of items -BROAD, -OAK and -STONE in non-initial position.

As indicated in the introduction to the data analysis (section 4.1 above), BROAD, OAK and STONE function predominantly as qualifying or descriptive elements in the place names found in this corpus. This is reflected in fewer occurrences of -BROAD, -OAK and -STONE in name non-initial position than in name-initial position. -BROAD and -OAK are attested only sporadically in name non-initial position, -STONE appears significantly more often than -BROAD or -OAK. Interestingly, numbers of names with STONE- in name-initial position are also significantly higher than the numbers of the other two items, as shown in Table 2 (p. 62). STONE seems to be a more common place name element than BROAD or OAK in this corpus.

There is a small possibility that the numbers of names with -BROAD and -OAK may have been higher but the rate of attrition was also higher and the reconstructed picture for the 12th and 13th century is misleading. However, there are no historic accounts of changes such as, tree diseases that would decimate oak population, or changes in settlement patterns, especially overcrowding, or something similar to later enclosures that would lead to loss of features named, such as broad (wide, large) fields, and their names falling out of use. It is more likely that the pattern reflects the way these three lexical items were used by language users for naming purposes. -BROAD and -OAK, were used less often as place-name elements compared to -STONE and all three items were favoured in the attributive position, i.e. name initially (see the other OE variables for the other option).



-BROAD appears only in the 13th century; two place names, both spelt with <o>, come from the first half of the 13th century and two names, both spelt with <a>, come from the second half of the 13th century: see Table 5 (p. 71) and Table 6 (p. 73). Their location is shown on Map 9 (p. 89). One of the two names from the period 1201-1250 is found in MDX: *Est- Westbrodefeld* (BROADFIELD, XM)<sup>89</sup> and the other one is located in HUN: *Langebrodeweie* (BROADWAY, UJ). They both appear in name-initial position after 1300 and are spelt with *broad-* in PDE. The two names attested in the period 1251-1300 are found in ESS: *Suthbradeworde* ([PDE NAME MISSING], E2) and *B(o)urt(h)on(e)* (*brade*) (BURTONWOOD FM, NU). The data for -BROAD is too scanty to allow for any strong conclusions.

-OAK is attested in six place names altogether from the beginning of the 12th century to the end of the 13th century (one of these names is also attested in DB); see Table 5 (p. 71) and Table 6 (p. 73). However, only three of these -OAK names are certain examples of Old English /ɑ:/; three other ones may not represent input to /ɑ:/ to /ɔ:/ change in the period examined. One, the second element in a name already discussed because of name-initial BROAD-, *Brodehoke* (BC in ESS), may not have been ascribed the correct date in the ESS volume, and in fact, post-dates 1300, as explained in Footnote 49 (p. 59). Two further -OAK names may not have been created with *āc*, the nominative singular form of the word, attesting Old English /ɑ:/, but with *æc*, the dative singular form, with Old English /æ:/. Both names are attested with <a> in the second half of the 12th century: *Stithenhache* (STEVENAGE, R6; it appears also in DB) and *Bradenach* (BRANDISH WOOD, RW). R6 is spelt with <a> and <e> interchangeably throughout the 13th century; whereas RW appears with <e> in the first half of the 13th century and with <a> in the second half. The spelling <a> in RW and R6 in the second half of the 12th century and in the 13th century may reflect the earlier /ɑ:/ or /æ(:)/. The letter <e> would indicate the earlier /æ/ (Lass 1992: 37), presumably shortened, since -*æc*, if it is -*æc* rather than *āc*, appears as the second element in these compound names (Campbell 1959: §88). The three more certain examples of -OAK with the OE /ɑ:/ are spelt with <a> or <o>. *Estacton* (EAST ACTON, XQ in MDX) is found with <a> in 1294 and the spelling most likely represents a short vowel.<sup>90</sup> Two other names appear with <o> in the second half of the 13th century. They are *Langenok*, -*och* (LANNOCK, RA) and *Gannok* (GANNOCK,

89 It is not clear from the listing in EPNS XVIII: 213 why *Est-* and *West-* [*brodefeld*] are examples of the spelling of one place name BROADFIELD; however, BROADFIELD is the only name listed.

90 EAST ACTON (XQ in MDX) is also attested with OAK- in name-initial position in the second half of the 12th century and in the 13th century; all the attestations are spelt with <a>: see Map 4 (p. 83).

RV); RA is also attested earlier, in the second half of the 12th century, with the spelling <a>. The names spelt with <o> may attest the post-change, early Middle English /ɔ:/, from Old English /ɑ:/, especially since one of the names (RA) has <a> in its earlier attestation. On the other hand, however, <o> may indicate a short vowel /o/, or a vowel being gradually shortened to /o/, which would explain the PDE spelling *-ock*; see also further discussion on the interpretation of spelling <o> in *-OAK* and *-STONE* below.

The distribution and history of vowel spellings in *-OAK* is given on Map 9 (p. 89); it is a joint *-BROAD* and *-OAK* map. Four *-OAK* names are in HRT and they form a cluster in the northern half of the county. The fifth name (BC, the one with uncertain dating) is in west ESS near HRT border, to the south of the cluster of the four in HRT. The sixth name is located in MDX.

*-STONE* in name non-initial position is attested in twenty place names from 1100 to the end of the 13th century, see Table 5 (p. 71) and Table 6 (p. 73). Seven place names are attested with <a> (YB, XP, MS, QI, 2P, VA, and UE) in DB; their distribution is shown on Map 10 (p. 90). Two appear in MDX, one in ESS, one in HRT, one in BED and two in HUN. One further name, LEIGHTONSTONE in HUN (VC) is spelt with <a>, <o> and <u> interchangeably in DB. The spelling <u>, recorded twice in VC: *Lestune*, *Delestune*, indicates the use of Old English *tūn* as the final element rather than Old English *stān*, although *stān* is also attested once (*Lectunestane*) in DB, and the name is a *-STONE* name in its etymology. The <o> spelling, *Lestone*, may either be a reduced form of *tūn*, (*tūn*>*tun*>*ton*) or a result of an early /ɑ:/ to /ɔ:/ change in *stān*, reported (by Liebl 2002) to be more common much earlier than is generally acknowledged. The subsequent forms of the name have <a> and <o> interchangeably. Confusion between Old English *stān* and *tūn* in name non-initial position is pointed out in several cases by authors of the EPNS volumes.

Four place names with *-STONE* in name non-initial position are found in the first half of the 12th century and eleven in the second half, see Table 5 (p. 71) and Table 6 (p. 73), and also Map 10 (p. 90). Three names are attested with <a> exclusively (KL, SC, UE) and one (MS) with <a> and <u> interchangeably in the period 1101-1150. No <o> spellings are attested in this sub-period. KL (in ESS)<sup>91</sup> and SC (in HRT) appear for the first time in

<sup>91</sup> The form *Eststanweya* with *-STONE* in non-initial position is one of the two forms found in *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestrie* (Colch), dated to 1119. The other form is *Stanuuieie*. Altogether, STANWAY (KL) is attested several times with the item *STONE-* in name-initial position from 1100 to 1300; see Table 3 (p. 65), Map 6 (p. 85) and the



this corpus in this sub-period, whereas UE (in HUN) and MS (in ESS) are also attested earlier in DB. The first examples of the spelling <o> in names with -STONE in non-initial position come from the second half of the 12th century, fifty years earlier compared to <o> for STONE- in name-initial position. Four <o> names are attested interchangeably with <a>; one in BED and three in HUN. One of the names, TW in HUN, is first attested in this corpus in this sub-period. The other three <a> and <o> names (2P in BED, UE and VC in HUN) are all also attested earlier; 2P and UE, with the spelling <a> exclusively, and VC with the spelling <a>, <o> and <u> interchangeably, discussed above. The fifth name with <o>, EASTON in ESS (MS), appears interchangeably with <a>, <o> and <u> in the second half of the 12th century. MS is also recorded with <a> in DB and with <a> and <u> interchangeably in the first half of the 12th century.

There are still more -STONE names attested with <a> than with <o> in the second half of the 12th century: six names are spelt exclusively with <a>, in addition to the four attested interchangeably with <o> and one name attested interchangeably with <o> and <u>; discussed above. Two <a> names (F7 in ESS, and QB in HRT) appear for the first time in this corpus in this sub-period. Four names (QI and SC in HRT, VA in HUN and XP in MDX) spelt with <a> in the second half of the 12th century, are also spelt that way in the first half or in DB. The distribution of the names attested in the 12th century is shown on Map 10 (p. 90), alongside the data for DB. <a> spelling exclusively is attested in the south of the area examined: in MDX, HRT and ESS; <a> and <o> in the north-west of the area: in BED and HUN; the place name recorded with <a>, <o> and <u> is located in north ESS; there are no place names attested in the north-east of the area, in CAM and ELY, in the 12th century or in DB.

The trend in -STONE names continues from the 12th century to the first half of the 13th, see Table 5 (p. 71), Table 6 (p. 73) and Map 11 (p. 91). <a> spellings exclusively are the most numerous ones; there are seven of them (XP, F7, SC, 2P, VC, TW and AL). AL in ELY is first attested in this corpus in this sub-period.<sup>92</sup> XP in MDX, F7 in ESS and SC in HRT continue unchanged from the second half of the 12th century; whereas 2P in BED, VC and TW in HUN change from the spelling <a> and <o> interchangeably in the second half of the 12th century to <a> exclusively in the first half of the 13th century. The number of names attested with <o> remains unchanged from the second half of the 12th century; five names again are attested in the period 1201-1250. Three appear with <o> and <a> interchangeably; one of these names (UE in HUN) continues unchanged

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Data Appendix.

<sup>92</sup> *Littlestanhale* with -STONE in non-initial position comes from *Red Book of Thorney* (Thorney), and is dated to c. 1246. The name, STONALD FIELD (AL), is also recorded with STONE- in name-initial position, spelling *Stonhale*, in the same source at the end of the 13th century; see Table 3 (p. 65), Map 8 (p. 87, and Map 8a, p. 88) and the Data Appendix.

from the second half of the 12th century, while two others (QI in HRT and VA in HUN) change from <a> exclusively in the second half of the 12th century to <a> and <o> interchangeably in the first half of the 13th century. The fourth name spelt with <o> (YB in MDX) appears also with <u> in this sub-period; in its previous attestation (in DB) it is spelt with <a>. The fifth <o> name, (MS in ESS), is also attested with <a>, <ay> and <ey> in this sub-period. Its earlier attestation has <a>, <o> and <u>, see the discussion above. Twelve names, in total, come from the first half of the 13th century, their distribution is shown on Map 11 (p. 91).

The second half of the 13th century shows the change in the proportions of <a> to <o> in -STONE names, in name non-initial position, for the first time in this corpus; see Table 5 (p. 71) and Table 6 (p. 73). No such change is observable for STONE- names in name-initial position, as shown in Table 2 (p. 62 above). The numbers however are small; there are six names spelt exclusively with <o> as opposed to four names spelt exclusively with <a> in name non-initial position from 1251 to 1300. Three <o> names and two <a> names in each case are attested for the first time in this corpus in this sub-period. The three <o> names are: *Whetston* (WHETSTONE, XX in MDX), *Blac- Blakestone(s)hey* (e), -is- (BLOSSOMS LYE, LL) and *Ging(g)es Atteston, Attestone* (INGATESTONE, GS) in ESS. The two new attestations of <a> are: *Longstanton'* (8S in CAM) and *Fenstanton* (W3 in HUN).<sup>93</sup> Two other names spelt with <o> exclusively are in MDX, XP and YB, and one in HRT, QB. XP is attested with <a> in previous sub-periods, YB is attested with <o> and <u> interchangeably in the first half of the 13th century and with <a> in DB, and QB is also attested with <a> in the second half of the 12th century. Two names spelt with <a> exclusively are QI in HRT, spelt with <a> and <o> in the first half of the 13th century and with <a> before then, and TW in HUN, spelt with <a> in the first half of the 13th century and with <a> and <o> in the second half of the 12th century.

Additionally, six -STONE names are attested with <o> and <a> interchangeably, one name is spelt with <o>, <a>, <u> and <ai> interchangeably, and one further name attested with <a> is also spelt with <e> in the period 1251-1300. One name (MS) spelt with <o> and <a> interchangeably is attested for the first time in this corpus in this sub-period.<sup>94</sup> Two names, UE and VA in HUN, continue unchanged with the same spelling as in the first half of the 13th century. The spelling of two further names, 2P in BED and VC in HUN,

<sup>93</sup> The name FEN STANTON (W3) appears once with -STONE in name non-initial position, *Fenstanton* (1260 Ass), and numerous times with STONE- in name-initial position from 1100 to 1300 (and in DB); see Table 3 (p. 65), Map 7 (p. 86), Map 8 (p. 87, also Map 8a p. 88) and the Data Appendix.

<sup>94</sup> BAMSTER'S spelt *Eystan Blaumost'*, *Eyston Blamuster* (1285 Ass) is one of two names attested in this parish in the second half of the 13th century. The other name, EASTON (GREAT and LITTLE) appears frequently from 1100 to 1300; see Table 6 (p. 73), Map 10 (p. 90), Map 11 (p. 91), Map 12 (p. 92) and the Data Appendix.

changes from <a> exclusively in the first half of the 13th century to <a> and <o> interchangeably in the second half. The name spelt with <o>, <a>, <u> and <ai> interchangeably, MS in ESS (the second name attested in this parish in this sub-period, see Footnote 94 below), has a history of <a>, <o>, <u> as well as <ay> and <ey>, as discussed above. The name spelt with <a> and <e> interchangeably in the period 1251-1300, F7 in ESS, is also attested with <a> exclusively in the first half of the 13th century and in the second half of the 12th. The distribution of the -STONE names attested in the second half of the 13th century, eighteen in total, is presented on Map 12 (p. 92).

There are no examples of <au> spelling for -STONE in name non-initial position, unlike in STONE- in name-initial position, discussed above. It is possible that the context that triggered the change was missing, namely the following consonant, beginning the second element of a place name was absent, and the change indicated by the spelling <au> did not occur.

### **Interpretation of spelling <o> in -OAK and -STONE.**

It is not possible to conclude with certainty whether the occurrences of <o> in the items -OAK and -STONE in this corpus are examples of /a:/ to /ɔ:/ change or a result of the shortening process of /a:/ to /a/ (or /a/) and the subsequent use of <a> and <o> interchangeably to indicate the merger of /a/ and /o/ in unstressed position (Campbell 1959: §377 and Hogg 1992a: §6.60). -OAK names are attested too few times to allow for any conclusions. Although -STONE is attested more frequently, the data looks complex. Several names are spelt with <a> and <o> interchangeably in the same sub-period(s): 2P, MS, QI, SC, TW, UE, VA and VC; other names are first attested with <a> and then subsequently with <o>: QB and XP; some other names are attested with <o> exclusively: GS, LL and XX; yet other names are only attested with <a> when they first appear in the 13th century: 8S, AL and W3; see Table 6 (p. 73) for details in each sub-period and Maps 10-12 (pp 90-92) for their distribution. It is possible that the names with the interchangeable <a> and <o> spellings indicate the merger of /a/ and /o/ in -STONE in unstressed position, whereas the names with <a> spelling in the earlier attestations and <o> spelling in the 13th century data could result from the /a:/ to /ɔ:/ change. Where -STONE survives until PDE, it is spelt either -ston or -stone in both groups; the former most likely indicates a short vowel, while the latter points to a long vowel. The <a> and <o> group has three names surviving with -ston (SC, TW and VA) and two with -stone (UE and VC) in PDE. One of the two names attested with <o> in the second half of the 13th century, and with <a> earlier, appears with -ston (QB) in PDE, and the other one appears with -stone (XP). Names attested for the first time in the second half of the 13th century

with <o> spelling exclusively might reflect the post-change situation, i.e. they could have been created with the early Middle English /ɔ:/. Two of these names maintain -STONE element to the present day. Their PDE forms appear with <o> -stone (GS in ESS and XX in MDX). The PDE vowel length in the surviving -STONE names shows almost equal numbers with short and long vowel, with a slight preference for long *o*<sup>95</sup> in the names that had <o> exclusively in the 13th century. However, the numbers of the surviving names are quite low and we cannot draw any strong conclusions.

The two -OAK names, LANNOCK (RA) and GANNOCK (RV), that appear with <o> in the second half of the 13th century, may be examples of early Middle English /ɔ:/, for earlier Old English /a:/. However, both names have the spelling -ock in PDE, which points to a short /o/. <o> in the 13th century could represent either a short or a long vowel. There are not enough attestations of the two names to clarify which change of the two mentioned above the data supports, although the /a:/ to /ɔ:/ change and subsequent shortening to /o/ and the spelling -ock in PDE, seems more probable. The lack of interchangeability of <a> and <o> spellings in the same sub-period, unlike for -STONE above, lends further support to the /a:/ to /ɔ:/ change and shortening in one name, RA. When it is attested for the first time in the second half of the 12th century, it appears with the spelling <a>, *Langenache*, and subsequently, in the period 1251-1300 it is attested with the spelling <o>, *Langenok*, -och. RV is only attested with <o>, spelling *Gannok*, when it first appears in the second half of the 13th century. It may represent the post-change early Middle English /ɔ:/.

#### **Vowel reduction in non-initial position and loss of etymological transparency in -STONE and -OAK.**

Both -*stān* and -*tūn*, when reduced, result in the form -*ton*. The data seems to point to independent reduction of the two items in name non-initial position and to their reduced forms being homographs, rather than to widespread confusion between -*stān* and -*tūn*. Only three -STONE names out of twenty are recorded with the spelling <u>, see Table 6 (p. 73). The first occurrence of spelling with <u>, VC (in HUN), comes from DB and appears interchangeably with <a> and <o>, *Lestune*, *Delestune*, *Lestone*, *Lectunestane*. Subsequently, the name appears with the spellings <a> and <o> interchangeably or <a> exclusively, and the PDE form is with -stone. The second name, YB (in MDX), is first recorded with <a> in DB, then with <u> and <o> in the first half of the 13th century, and

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<sup>95</sup> Long *o* represented by discontinuous spelling *o-e*.

with <o> exclusively in the second half. The PDE form is *-ston*. The third name with <u>, EASTON (MS), is found in ESS. <a> exclusively is attested in DB, <a> and <u> interchangeably are found in the first half of the 12th century, <a>, <o> and <u> interchangeably in the second half. <a>, <o>, <ay> and <ey> are attested in the first half of the 13th century and <a>, <o>, <u> and <ai> in the second half. The PDE form is *-ston*. Place names with *-tun* seem to undergo the *u > o* change earlier than those with *-stan*. At the time when *-STONE* shows interchangeable spelling, the spelling of *-tun* is mostly with <o> exclusively.

More *-OAK* names show loss of transparency than *-STONE* names. BC (in ESS) is the only name that has *-oak* in the PDE form of the name, BROAD OAK. All four names in HRT show the loss of etymological transparency to a varying degree. Two names have *-OAK* spelt *-ock*, LANNOCK (RA) and GANNOCK (RV), the spelling indicative of a short vowel. *-OAK* in STEVENAGE (R6) is changed to *-age*<sup>96</sup> and BRANDISH WOOD (RW) has lost the item altogether. Developments similar to these occur in all compound words, including proper names, from Old English onwards. The second element bears only secondary stress, called half-stress by Campbell (1959: §87-88) and when the elements lose their “original semantic force” they “[tend] to be much reduced: their vowels were shortened, and they can undergo considerable phonological changes owing to their reduces stress.” Hogg (1992a: §2.89) too points out that “the status of these elements appears to be gradually obscured” also in proper names (Hogg 1992a: §2.90).

#### 4.2.4 Other item features

##### Item *OAK* with *h-*.

The item *OAK-* appeared once with unetymological initial *h+ac-* in the first half of the 13th century, and with initial *h+ok-* in the second half of the 13th century. *Hacle* (OAKLEY, JG ESS), was recorded once in FF (*Feet of Fines*) dated to 1226. Two other records: FF (1219) *Acle(e)* and Ass (1248) *Ak(e)le* show expected initial vowel spellings. The second example of *OAK-* with the initial *h-*, *Hokersse*, was found for the name OAKHURST (PU, HRT) in the *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* (AD) assigned to the second half of the 13th century. AD was classified as a local source (by Carlsson 1989) or as either a half-central or a local source (by Ek 1972, 1975). Otherwise in this period we find non-*h* spellings for OAKHURST: *Okersh*<sup>97</sup> and *Ockerse*.<sup>98</sup>

96 The name also shows early loss of transparency in the first element, e.g.: *Stiveneche* 1255 FF.

97 In the source *Index to the Charters and Rolls in the British Museum* (BM) dated to 1256.

98 In the source *Feet of Fines* (FF) dated to 1267.



Unetymological initial *h* is also attested in -oak in non-initial position in STEVENAGE (R6) in the following forms: *Stithenhache* (1200 FF), *Stidenhach* (1229 Pat), *Stivenhache* (1278 Ass), *Stethenhach* (1293 WAM) and in BRANDISH WOOD (RW) *Bradenhach* (1294 SR), alongside forms without *h*. The forms come from a variety of documents; local: LSR, central: Pat, or half-central (or undecided): Ass, FF and WAM.

*Hacle* and *Hokersse* or *Bradenhach* and *Stivenhache* (and other forms of this name) are infrequent and may indicate a scribal error, inserting an unetymological silent *h*-, influenced by his use of Medieval Latin in which initial *h* was no longer pronounced. Alternatively, the names may show intrusive initial *h* influenced by developments in English at that time, namely *h*-dropping and *h*-addition. Evidence found in LAEME corpus<sup>99</sup> strongly suggests that individual scribes dropped initial *h*- and added unetymological initial *h*- in spelling (not only in weakly stressed function words) from as early as the end of the 12th century and the 13th century across the country<sup>100</sup>. Spellings such as *and* for *hand*, *arde* for *hard*, *euene*, *eune* for *heaven*, *elle* for *hell*, *oligastes* for *holyghost*, are recorded alongside *houet* for *āgan*,<sup>101</sup> *heite* for *æht*<sup>102</sup> in MS Arundel 248 (British Library, London).<sup>103</sup> In another text, *Ancrene Riwe*, MS 234/120 (Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge), *hagen* appears for *āgan* alongside *ope* for *hope*.<sup>104</sup> If *ope* could be used interchangeably with *hope* so could *hac* be a permissible spelling for *ac* or *hoke* for *oke* (PDE *oak*).<sup>105</sup>

99 Kindly made available to me from unpublished work in progress by Margaret Laing from Institute for Historical Dialectology, English Language, Edinburgh University.

100 Numerous *h*-less forms of the verb *have* have been found; also pronouns *I*, *us*, *our*, *you*, *one*, or conjunction *and*, have been attested with unetymological *h*- in the same texts. Omission of *h*- in the verb *have* (or pronoun *hit* 'it') could result from weak stress and such examples alone might not be strong evidence for *h*-dropping; likewise insertion of *h*- in function words such as pronouns or conjunctions could be argued as being different to *h*-insertion in fully stressed lexical items.

101 *houet* is the third person singular present tense of the OE verb *āgan* 'come forth, appear, pass (of time), happen, grow'.

102 *heite* is a form of the OE noun *æht* 'power, possession, property'.

103 Four lyrics, fols 154r-155r.

104 The number of texts and the variety of lexical items in which *h*-loss and *h*-addition have been attested side by side in LAEME corpus are too numerous to give a full account of.

105 Wells (1982 vol. I: 253 ff.) dates *h*-dropping in pronunciation of lexical words to the 18th century "popular London speech" from which it spread throughout England. Milroy (1983) argues that *h*-dropping and *h*-addition occurred in the South-East, East Midlands and East Anglia from 1190. He presents evidence from *Genesis and Exodus* and further mentions texts such as *Poema Morale*, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, the Otho text of *Lagamon's Brute*, and says it is attested in many others. He also points out that English scholars, beginning with Skeat and Wyld, rejected this early evidence. Jones (1989: 265 ff.) too quotes early 13th century examples from *Lagamon's Brute* in his discussion of *h*-dropping and *h*-insertion. Also, see Lass (1992: 61-3) for a summary discussion.

### Item OAK- with *n-*.

Further variation has been found in the item OAK- with regard to consonants, namely metanalysed *n+oke*. The four occurrences of *noke* come from the end of the 13th century and are preceded by *at(t)e*:

CW (ESS), NOAK HILL Richard *ate Noke* t. Ed 1 HPD

DJ (ESS), NOAK HO Henry *atte Noke* t. Hy 3 StJohn

HO (ESS), NOAKE'S FM Thomas *atte Noke* 1291 For

QP (HRT), OAK'S CROSS Robert *ate Noke* 1285 Ass

The initial *n-* resulted from reanalysis of *at(t)en oke* as *atte noke*. One of the examples comes from an undecided source, *Assize Rolls* (Ass), another example was found in LSR, classified as a local source (Bohman 1944, Ek 1972, 1975, Kristensson 1967, 1976, etc.) or as a half-central source (McClure 1973). Two other sources *Hornchurch Priory Documents* (HPD) and *Cartulary of the Knights Hospitallers* (StJohn) fall into the undecided category, they may be local or undecided in origin. Although the spelling *oke* has now in general been modernised to *oak*, three names maintain the initial *n-* (*Noak(e)*) even in PDE.

### Item STONE- with *-m*.

In the 13th century, item STONE- was attested with final *-m* (*stan-* > *sta(u)m-*) in some names in which the second element begins with a labial or labio-dental consonant, for example: *-bridge*, *-burna*, *-ford*, and *-mere*. The following forms were attested, in local, undecided and central sources:

2X, (BED), STANFORD *Stamford* 1202 Ass, 1247 Ass,

41, (BED), STANBRIDGE *Stambrug* 1292 Ipm,

M2, (ESS), STAMBOURNE *Stamburn* 1221 FF, *Stamburn* 1255 Ass,

EH, (ESS), STANMER *Stamere* t. Hy 3 WalthamA (p)

FF, (ESS), STAMBRIDGE *Staumbrugge* 1279 FF,

XI, (MDX), STANMORE *Stammere* 1219 Pap.<sup>106</sup>

*Stamford* (2X) appeared interchangeably with *Staunford*, on one occasion in the same document, Ass, dated to 1247. One example of *Stambrug* (41) appears beside more common *Stanbru(g)g(e)* and *Stanbrig(g)e* spellings. *Stamburn* appears alongside *Stamburna*, *-(e)* if we assume FF 1221 to refer in each case to the same document. *Stamere* (EH), presumably simplified from *\*Stammere*, comes from the same source as *Stan(e)mere*, namely *Cartularium Abbatiae de Waltham* (WalthamA) dated to the reign

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<sup>106</sup> *Calendar of Papal Registers* (Pap) may be a central source.



of Henry III.<sup>107</sup> WalthamA may have been a local source. *Staumbrugge* and *Staunbregg'* (location FF) were found in the same source, FF, dated to different years; and finally we find also *Stammere* beside *Stanmere* (XI), one each.

The forms with *stam-* are an example of a process of assimilation common at morpheme juncture in compounds in English. For example, the word *input* can be pronounced [imput] or the word *handbag* can be pronounced [hambag] with cluster simplification and assimilation. The assimilation found in the place-name data seems to be carried out more thoroughly than in regular lexical items, as it results in the change of the spelling of the assimilated morpheme, in some cases permanently. This is likely to be due to morphemes in place names being under different pressures, which allowed for phonological processes to operate more freely (Davis 1968, Clark 1992 a,b), as was indicated in 2.3.2 above.

#### 4.2.5 Dating the change of OE /ɑ:/ to eME /ɔ:/

The hypothesis tested here is that the change is implemented by the early 13th century. The standard account states that the OE /ɑ:/ to /ɔ:/ change was in progress by the 12th century, “coming to fruition in the late twelfth to early thirteenth century, ... despite its variable implementation in different texts and different areas” (Lass 1992: 46). However, this account is not based on exhaustive quantitative data. We must await the publication of LAEME and its corpus to be able to confirm or refine the current state of our knowledge. As shown in Table 2 (p. 62), and Table 3 (p. 65) above there are no reliable examples of <o> spelling in the place names with BROAD-, OAK- and STONE- in name-initial position from the 12th century.<sup>108</sup> The first attestations of <o> spellings in name-initial position come from the early 13th century. The first attestations of <o> (interchangeably with <a>, or <a> and <u>) in name non-initial position come from STONE- in the last quarter of the 12th century (2P, MS, TW, UE, VC).<sup>109</sup> The occurrences of <o> in name non-initial position alone may not be strong evidence for /ɔ:/ at that time. <o> in this context may be explained in terms of vowel shortening and change in quality under reduced stress rather than in terms of the OE /ɑ:/ to /ɔ:/ change; see the discussion on history of items -BROAD, -OAK, and -STONE in non-initial position above.

<sup>107</sup> However the date indicated in the list of sources is the 15th century (Harl. MS 4809).

<sup>108</sup> Liebl (2002) finds <o> infrequently in other place-name elements with the OE /ɑ:/, see Footnote 48, p. 59 above.

<sup>109</sup> Two earlier examples of <o> spelling are problematic. The DB spelling with <o> *Lestune*, *Lestone*, *Delestune*, *Lectunestane* (VC LEIGHTONSTONE) may be due to the reduction of *-tun* to *-ton* rather than *-stan* to *-ston*. The *-hoke* in *Brodehoke* 1121-36 WDB (BC HATFIELD BROAD OAK) may be dated incorrectly, as explained in Footnote 49 p. 59.

The remainder of this section concentrates on the changes recorded in the items BROAD-, OAK- and STONE- in name-initial position. It is not clear whether the data shows a shift from <a> spellings to <o> spellings in the names with these items, thus indicating the change of OE /ɑ:/ to eME /ɔ:/. To check whether this is the case I compared the number of names ever spelt with <a> and ever spelt with <o> in each half of the 13th century. These are expressed as proportions of the total number of names for the corresponding half-century. The proportions are shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Proportions of spellings <a> to <o> in BROAD-, OAK- and STONE-

	1201-1250	1251-1300
<a>	33 (84.61%)	47 (67.14%)
<o>	8 (20.51%)	28 (40.00%)
<a> or <o>	39	70

Note that place names which are at some time recorded with spelling <a> are found not only in the column headed by <a> but also in the <a>~<o>, <a>~<au>, <a>~<ai> and <a>~<o>~<ai> columns in Table 2 (p. 62) above. The same applies for <o>; some names may occur with both <a> and <o> spellings; these have contributed to both cells in a given column in Table 7 here. Also, <o> was counted from the columns with <o>~<au> and <a>~<o>~<ay> spellings. Consequently, the percentages in the columns may add up to more than 100% (and the total numbers to more than the values presented at the bottom of columns two and three).

Although the numbers of names spelt with <o> in name-initial position increase more than three fold from the middle to the end of the 13th century, there are significantly more <a> names than <o> names attested in the data in both halves of the 13th century. At first glance, it seems that the change in the place-name corpus just begins to appear at the time when it nears completion in the data available from texts. The data has to be investigated further.

### Spelling of major names vs. minor names.

It is believed that major place names, i.e. well known ones, are more likely to change as long as they are semantically transparent whereas minor place names, being less known and used less widely, lose transparency, and are more likely to remain unchanged. The problem with the above hypothesis is that we cannot know for sure how long a given name remains transparent if it does not attest a new, post-change, spelling. We can reach tentative conclusions about semantic transparency by analysing changes that elements in a name undergo through time. If the elements also function as ordinary vocabulary items in the lexicon, changes found in them as items of lexicon can be compared to changes they undergo in place names.

OAK- names are attested with <o> spellings in nine names out of ten (90%) at the end of the 13th century. Six names are minor names (names inside parishes) and three are major

names (parish names). The high proportion of <o> spellings may not be due to whether the names were well known but due to the fact that seven of these names are first attested in the 13th century and could have been coined with <o> to start with. The other two parish names, spelt with <o> and <a> interchangeably in the 13th century, are also attested in the 12th century and in DB. These two names show the change in spelling from <a> in the 12th century to <o> and <a> in the 13th century, and have the spelling *oak-* in PDE. One parish name is spelt with <a> exclusively both in the 12th and 13th century and has the spelling *ac-* (ACTON) in PDE.

BROAD- names do not show change from <a> to <o> in the 13th century regardless of whether they are elements of major names or minor names. One minor name spelt with <a> and <o> interchangeably in the first half of the 13th century is attested with <a> exclusively in the second half, and has the spelling *brad-* in PDE. The seven BROAD- names spelt with <o> exclusively show similarity to the OAK- names spelt with <o> exclusively, discussed above. They are first attested in the second half of the 13th century and are all minor names. Their spelling, like that of the OAK- names may be due to their late origin, not just late attestation. However, seven of the BROAD- names attested with <a> in the 12th and 13th centuries change subsequently to <o>; and the six that survive to the present, have the spelling *broad-* in PDE. Four or five of them are minor names (XD, XO, BJ, QN and possibly 9V, a street name in ELY), one is a major (parish) name (RO) and one is a hundred name, presumably a major name although named after a minor name in a parish (QZ).

So either our classification of major as opposed to minor names is inaccurate, and the names that are here classified as minor, based on their location inside parishes were in fact more significant, or with regard to /a:/ to /ɔ:/ change in BROAD- and OAK- other factors contributed to the spelling change, e.g.: the fact that the names came into existence late.

### **Spelling in central sources vs. local sources.**

Further refinement of the results may be achieved by separating spellings according to the source type in which they occur. Table 8 below shows the totals of names recorded in each type of sources: central, local and undecided, whereas Table 9, Table 10 and Table 11 give the numbers for each item separately.

Both <a> and <o> are attested in each type of source in Table 8. There is a big increase of <o> spellings in each category, from the first half of the 13th century to the second half. <a> spellings increase only in the undecided sources.

Table 8: Distribution of spelling in OAK- BROAD-, and STONE- by type of sources: central, vs. local vs. undecided.

Total of	Sources	Central		Local		Undecided		
OAK-	spelling	<a>	<o>	<a>	<o>	<a>	<o>	<a>~<o>
BROAD-	1201-1250	14	2	9 (or 6)	3 (or 0)	35 (or 38)	3 (or 6)	1
STONE-	1251-1300	13	5	11 (or 10)	10 (or 9)	55 (or 56)	21 (or 22)	1

Figures in brackets reflect the uncertainty about the local or undecided character of some sources.

OAK- names listed in Table 9 below follow the trend observed in Table 8, as far as the increase of spellings with <o> are concerned. The amount of <a> spellings in undecided sources decreases slightly in names with OAK- in the second half of the 13th century.

Table 9: Distribution of spelling in OAK- by type of sources: central, vs. local vs. undecided.

Item	Sources	Central		Local		Undecided		
	spelling	<a>	<o>	<a>	<o>	<a>	<o>	<a>~<o>
OAK-	1201-1250	3	1	1	0	6	1	1
	1251-1300	3	3	1	3	5	8	1

Table 10 below gives the numbers of names with BROAD-. The numbers of attestations of both <a> and <o> are low. There are no <o> spellings attested in central sources. Local sources record two or three instances of <o>, whereas undecided sources may have three or four attestations of <o>. <a> in undecided sources increases somewhat, but it decreases in the local sources.

Table 10: Distribution of spelling in BROAD- by type of sources: central, vs. local vs. undecided.

Item	Sources	Central		Local		Undecided	
	spelling	<a>	<o>	<a>	<o>	<a>	<o>
BROAD-	1201-1250	0	0	4 (or 2)	2 (or 0)	6 (or 8)	0 (or 2)
	1251-1300	1	0	3	3	11	4

Figures in brackets reflect the uncertainty about the local or undecided character of some sources.

STONE- names in Table 11 below show some similarity in the <a> and <o> pattern to those found in the general table, Table 8, above. Undecided sources show a large increase of both vowel types from the first half to the 13th century to the second half. Central and local sources record an increase of <o> spellings, although the numbers are low. <au> in

central sources decreases after 1250 but it increases nearly two-fold in the undecided sources. There is one attestation of <au> in a local source in the second half of the 13th century.

Table 11: Distribution of spelling in STONE- by type of sources: central, vs. local vs. undecided.

Item		Central			Local			Undecided					
		<a>	<o>	<au>	<a>	<o>	<au>	<a>	<o>	<ai> or <ay>	<au>	<a>~ <au>	<o>~ <au>
STONE-	1201-1250	11	1	5	4 (or 3)	1 (or 0)	0	23 (or 24)	2 (or 3)	0	5	3	0
	1251-1300	9	2	1	7 (or 6)	4 (or 3)	1	39 (or 40)	9 (or 10)	<ai> 2 <ay> 1	13	2	1

Figures in brackets reflect the uncertainty about the local or undecided character of some sources.

There are four areas of difficulty that we are faced with while attempting an interpretation of the figures above:

1. overall, the biggest amount of data comes from undecided sources; however, we do not know what significance they have linguistically,
2. the observations concerning the standard written language preserved in central sources are based on Late Middle English; there is no writing in English produced in central administration offices in early Middle English,<sup>110</sup>
3. a lot of the data comes from Latin sources and that is bound to have influenced the English names; however, there are no studies of the influence of the official languages, Latin and French on the spelling of vernacular names,<sup>111</sup>
4. finally, OE /ɑ:/ to eME /ɔ:/ change affected the south of England, south of the Humber-Lune line; therefore it is not obvious that local sources would show different spelling to the central ones. It is more likely that differences are reflected in sources from different periods rather than from different provenance.

<sup>110</sup> However, there is writing produced in a “conventional Westminster manner” (Cameron 1996: 22) for a centralised bureaucracy.

<sup>111</sup> Apart from a comment by Clark (1992c) about English names being inserted in a Latin document framework.

**Rate of change in place names: old vs. new names.**

Table 12 below shows the proportions of <a> to <o> spellings recorded in each half of the 13th century for each item separately. It appears that the change from <a> to <o> is carried out at different rates for each item.

Table 12: Proportions of spellings <a> to <o> in OAK- VS. BROAD- VS. STONE-

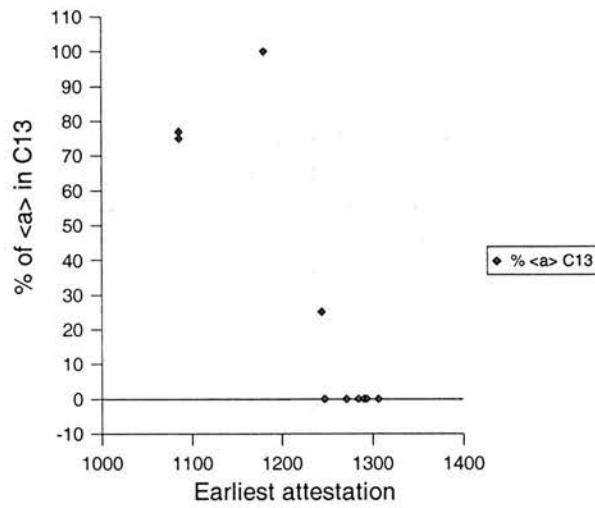
		1201-1250	1251-1300
OAK-	<a>	3 (60%)	4 (40%)
	<o>	3 (60%)	9 (90%)
	<a> or <o>	5	10
BROAD-	<a>	10 (100%)	15 (68.18%)
	<o>	1 (10.00%)	7 (31.81%)
	<a> or <o>	10	22
STONE-	<a>	20 (83.33%)	28 (73.68%)
	<o>	4 (16.66%)	12 (31.57%)
	<a> or <o>	24	38

See note below Table 7 (p. 114 above) for an explanation about how the names are counted.

The change from <a> to <o> for OAK- is nearly completed within a century: from 0% of <o> spellings at the beginning of the 13th century, to 60% in the middle and 90% at the end of the 13th century.

Graph 1 below is a scatter-plot of percentage of <a> spellings in OAK- names in the 13th century against the date of the earliest attestation of the names. It shows that OAK- names are more likely to be spelt with <a> in the 13th century if they are attested for the first time early in the period investigated. Names that are attested for the first time towards the end of the 13th century are more likely to be spelt with <o>; they all have <oa> spelling in PDE.

Graph 1: <a> vs. <o> spelling in OAK- names in the 13th century against the date of their earliest attestation.



It is possible that the names with <o> were created with the early Middle English /ɔ:/ and did not have a history of <a> (and /a:/). Their first attestation in the 13th century might not be late, considering the conservative nature of spelling combined with the fact that onomastic data is also conservative. The names most likely would have been in use for some time in the 12th century before they appeared in writing in the 13th. The authors of the HRT volume (EPNS XV: 120) suggest that “in the 12th century the form in Hertfordshire would clearly have been *ok(e)*, not *ak(e)*.”<sup>112</sup> Further research, for example the analysis of the spelling of OAK- names that are first attested in late Middle English would be a useful way of verifying the observations about the 13th century OAK- data.

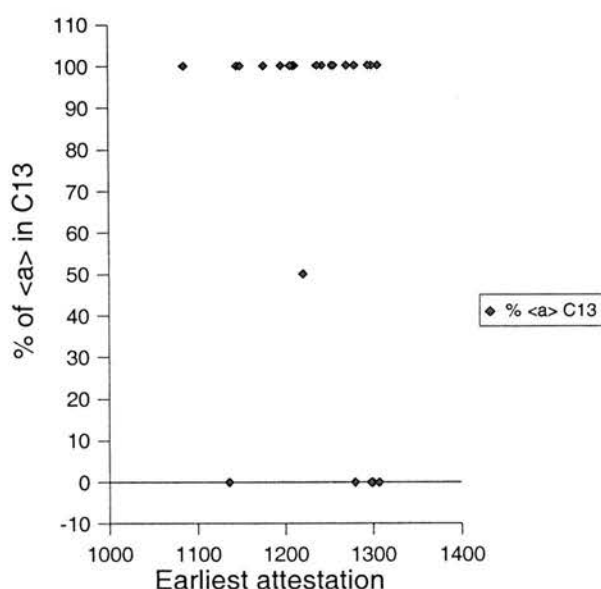
It is interesting to note that the two DB names are realised in PDE with <oa> spelling. This suggests that while new names were being created with /ɔ:/, some names originally in /a:/ were progressively being shifted to /ɔ:/. One name with the earliest attestation with <a> toward the end of the 12th century remains unchanged throughout the 13th century and is spelt with <a> in PDE. The name that is first attested in the middle of the 13th century, first with <o>, then with <a> and <o> interchangeably, has the spelling *ock-* when it is last attested before it disappears; *ock-* indicates the short vowel /o/ which could have resulted from shortening of /ɔ:/.

<sup>112</sup> This statement comes as a side remark in a discussion of etymology of a different name, in which OAK- is excluded because there are no examples of the spelling with <o>, e.g.: *ok(e)*. The comment is somewhat ambiguous as there are no attestations of OAK- in the HRT volume before the 13th century.



The change for *BROAD-* is implemented more slowly: from 0% of <o> spellings at the beginning of the 13th century, to 10% in the middle and just under 32% at the end of the 13th century.<sup>113</sup> None of the place names attested with <a> in the 12th century change to <o> in the 13th century. More *BROAD-* names attested for the first time in either half of the 13th century are spelt with <a> than with <o> in this corpus.

Graph 2: <a> vs. <o> spelling in *BROAD-* names in the 13th century against the date of their earliest attestation.



Graph 2 is a scatter-plot of percentage of <a> spellings in *BROAD-* names in the 13th century against the date of the earliest attestation of the names. The majority of them are spelt with <a> in the 13th century regardless of how late they are first attested in the corpus, although there is also a smaller group of names attested for the first time with the spelling <o> at the end of the 13th century. This group consists of seven <o> names, six represented by the symbol at 1300 and one at 1280 with the value 0 (zero <a>). By comparison, four new names with <a> are attested in those twenty years.<sup>114</sup> The ratio of seven <o> names to four <a> names might indicate change in progress from *brad-* to *brod-* (present day *broad-*) in this corpus.

Indeed, more than a third of the names spelt with <a> in the period examined have the modernised *broad-* spelling in PDE, or were spelt with <o> when they were attested for the last time before they disappeared. That group includes place names attested for the

<sup>113</sup> The earliest occurrence of <o> in the first half of the 12th century is not included, see the explanation in Footnote 49, p. 59 above.

<sup>114</sup> The IDs of <o> names are: 9V, BC, MG, MM, PR, Q6 and SS; the IDs of <a> names are: EP, SM, XD and XN.



change to 1300.<sup>118</sup> The symbols clustering at the value 100 with the date 1300 represent the new <a> names that are first attested towards the end of the 13th century; whereas the symbols clustering at the value 0 (zero) near the date 1300 represent the names first attested with <o> exclusively around this date. There are seven new <o> names and eight new <a> names;<sup>119</sup> the graph does not show this clearly because the dates of attestation are close to each other, and consequently, the symbols are superimposed on each other. Along the same line, at the value 0 (zero), one name attested in DB and one name in the second half of the 12th century appear with <o> in the 13th century.<sup>120</sup>

The remaining names, roughly just below half of the names with early attestations, show varying degrees of <a> spelling in the 13th century. Most names in this group appear with <a> and <au> interchangeably.<sup>121</sup>

Unlike BROAD- names, a very small number of STONE- names, three out of twenty-five,<sup>122</sup> spelt exclusively with <a> in the 12th century or DB, change to <o> in the 13th century; one of the three (SR) is spelt with <a> in PDE, the other two (AM and SB) have the spelling <o> in PDE, possibly indicating a short vowel /o/. Furthermore, only one of the STONE- names (6R) attested for the first time with <a> in the 13th century has the spelling with <o> in PDE.

#### 4.2.6 Summary conclusions

The three items analysed were found more frequently in name-initial position compared to name non-initial position in this corpus. Their function seems to have been to add descriptive or qualifying meaning to other generic words that followed BROAD-, OAK- and STONE-.

Different groupings of the data (in name-initial position) for analysis were considered: changes in major names as opposed to minor names, separation of sources of the data into central as opposed to local and undecided. No obvious refinement of results emerged from these types of analysis.

118 It is in the parish VH; three names from the 12th century, 9A, OA and JZ are not attested in the 13th century and do not appear on the above graph.

119 The seven new <o> names are: XE, BJ, GZ, M3, IP, 6I and AL; and the eight new <a> names are: WL (one of the two names attested in this parish in the 13th century), 6R, BD, DJ, L4, KL (one of the two names attested in this parish in the 13th century), LU and QY.

120 These are: SB (1086) and AM (1170).

121 Names spelt with <a> and <au> interchangeably are: 2X, 41, 96 (one of the two names attested in this parish in the 13th century), C8, CC, FF, W3; additionally, U2 is spelt with <a> and <ai> interchangeably and FK and EJ are spelt with <au> exclusively.

122 These are: SB, SR and AM.

The data in name-initial position seems to reflect three different processes:

- A change in quantity, shortening of OE /a:/ prior to the time of /a:/ to /ɔ:/ change; this is manifested by a large group of names with the spelling <a> exclusively in DB and throughout the 12th and 13th centuries (and up to the present), even though some names in this group are first attested quite late, in the 13th century, when the change is observable in the spelling of other names. The names with <a> make up an old layer of language, with non-transparent form of the items tested.
- Change in progress in some names with early attestations whose vowel must have been still similar to the vowel that constituted the input to the change; this is demonstrated by interchangeable <a> and <o> spelling (and modernised spelling that points, in PDE, to the early Middle English /ɔ:/).
- Post-change new vowel, early Middle English /ɔ:/, in some names that are attested in the 13th century data with the spelling <o> exclusively (and appropriate modernised spelling in PDE) in the items; they constitute a new layer of language in which the items do not have the history of OE /a:/.

Although the general trends are similar, each item is different, both in name-initial and name non-initial position.

- <o> in -STONE in name non-initial position may not represent the change of /a:/ to /ɔ:/ but a shortening of /a:/ to /a/ and the change of /a/ to /o/,
- <o> spelling exclusively in -STONE may indicate shortening and convergence with -ton (from -tun) into a non-distinct suffix,
- the <o> spellings in -OAK may reflect /a:/ to /ɔ:/ change but there is too little data to allow for a firm conclusion.

### 4.3 OE /y/

Variation in four items with the reflexes of Old English /y/, namely BRIDGE, RIDGE, BURY and MILL was investigated for the period 1100 to 1300. Data found in DB (1086) was also included for comparison. The items were analysed separately in name-initial position and in name non-initial position in fifty-year sub-periods. Table 13 (p. 125), Table 14 (p. 127) and Table 15 (p. 130) present the results for BRIDGE-, RIDGE-, BURY- and MILL-, in name-initial position; whereas Table 16 (p. 132), Table 17 (p. 134) and Table 18 (p. 138) below show the results for the four items attested in name non-initial position (indicated as -BRIDGE, -RIDGE, -BURY and -MILL). The results are mapped on sixteen distribution maps in section 4.3.2 below. The remainder of section 4.3 discusses the results obtained from the place-name corpus.

#### 4.3.1 Results

The developments found in the 12th and 13th century place-name data with BRIDGE-, RIDGE-, BURY- and MILL- in name-initial position are shown in Table 13 (p. 125) below. Spellings with <e>, <i/y> and <u>, either exclusively or interchangeably, are recorded as indicated in the table. There are no BRIDGE- names attested before the second half of the 13th century. The place names found in the second half are attested with <e> exclusively, <i/y> exclusively, <u> exclusively, and with <i> and <u> interchangeably. One name is attested with <u> in DB. No RIDGE- names were found in the 12th century; the first attestation, in the first half of the 13th century, comes from 1248 with the interchangeable spellings <e> and <i>. RIDGE- is attested with <u> only in the second half of the 13th century. BURY- is first attested in the second half of the 12th century with the spellings <e> exclusively and <u> exclusively. <i> exclusively and <u> exclusively are found in the first half of the 13th century; whereas in the second half, <e>, <i/y> and <u> exclusively as well as <e> and <i> interchangeably are attested. MILL- is attested with <e> in DB, then with <e> exclusively, <u> exclusively and <e> and <u> interchangeably in the second half of the 12th century. Spellings with <e>, <i> and <u> exclusively, and <e>, <i/y> and <u> interchangeably are attested in both halves of the 13th century. Additionally, spellings with <e> and <i> interchangeably were found in the second half of the 13th century. One name was attested with the interchangeable spellings with <e>, <o> and <u> in the second half of the 13th century.

Table 13: Spelling variation of Old English /y/ in early Middle English place names with BRIDGE-, RIDGE-, BURY- and MILL- in name-initial position.  
 Spelling is indicated in angular brackets, e.g.: <i>; a tilde between angular brackets indicates that a name is attested with either of the letters in a particular sub-period, e.g.: <i>~<u>.

OE /y/	DB 1086	1101- 1150	1151-1200	1201-1250	1251-1300
BRIDGE-	<u>				<e> <i/y> <u> <i>~<u>
RIDGE-				<e>~<i>	<u>
BURY-			<e> <u>	<i> <u>	<e> <i/y> <u> <e>~<i>
MILL-	<e>		<e> <u> <e>~<u>	<e> <i> <u> <e>~<i>~<u>	<e> <i> <u> <e>~<i/y> <e>~<i>~<u> <e>~<u>(~<o>)

Table 14 (p. 127) below shows the breakdown of spelling attestations of vowels in names with BRIDGE-, RIDGE-, BURY- and MILL- by county for each item separately. The numbers of place names found in name-initial position are low, except for MILL-, as indicated in the table. There are only six place names with BRIDGE- in the period examined; they are all attested in the second half of the 13th century. The seventh BRIDGE- name comes from DB. Only one RIDGE- name is attested, in both halves of the 13th century. BURY- is found in fifteen names and MILL- is attested in twenty-four names. Place names with BURY- and MILL- are also attested earlier than names with BRIDGE- or RIDGE- in this corpus. Two BURY- names are found in the second half of the 12th century, two in the first half of the 13th century, and thirteen in the second half. Two names are attested in two sub-periods: 1151-1200 and 1251-1300. There are no BURY- names attested in DB in this corpus.<sup>123</sup> MILL- is found in three place names in the second half of the 12th century, two of them are also attested earlier in DB. Eight MILL- names are attested in the first half of the 13th century, six of them for the first time in this corpus in this sub-period. Eighteen names

<sup>123</sup> This contrasts with the presence of several names with BURG(H)-, OE *bur(g)(h)*, the nominative case of the item which does not attest OE /y/, as opposed to BURY- which comes from OE *byrig*, in the dative or genitive case.



come from the second half of the 13th century, fifteen of them are attested for the first time in this corpus in this sub-period.<sup>124</sup>

The amount of BRIDGE-, RIDGE-, BURY- and MILL- data increases with time in the period 1150-1300 despite low numbers attested. Five BURY- and MILL- names appear in the second half of the 12th century, as opposed to no attestations of BRIDGE-, RIDGE-, BURY- and MILL- in the first half. The numbers increase to eleven in the first half of the 13th century and consist of RIDGE-, BURY- and MILL- names. All four items appear in the second half of the 13th century, there are thirty-eight names attested for this period.

The history of spelling of individual names that contribute to the numbers in Table 14 (p. 127) below is given in Table 15 (p. 130). The geographical distribution and the vowel spellings of the BRIDGE- and RIDGE- names appear on Map 13 (p. 145), BURY- names are shown on Map 14 (p. 146), and MILL- names on Map 15 (p. 147).

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<sup>124</sup> Eight names with MILL- in ESS and one in HRT come from additional appendices of field names at the end of the corresponding EPNS volumes. The volumes for CAM and ELY and MDX also have these appendices; however they do not list any field names with MILL- (or BRIDGE-, RIDGE- and BURY-). The BED and HUN volume (EPNS III) does not have this additional appendix.

Table 14: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /y/ in early Middle English place names with BRIDGE-, RIDGE-, BURY- and MILL- in name-initial position.

		DB 1086	1101-1150	1151-1200	1201-1250			e	i/y	u	i~u	1251-1300			
<i>spelling</i>		u										Distribution of BRIDGE- by county, sub-period and spelling: Map 13.			
<i>item</i>	<i>sub-total of</i>	1						2	2	1	1				
BRIDGE-	<i>total of names</i>														
<i>distribution by county</i>															
CAM		1									1				
ESS								1	1						
HRT								1		1					
HUN									1						
<i>spelling</i>								e~i				u		Location of RIDGE-, sub-periods and spelling: Map 13.	
<i>item</i>	<i>sub-total of</i>							1				1			
RIDGE-	<i>total of names</i>														
<i>distribution by county</i>															
HRT								1		1					

Table 14 cont.: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /y/ in early Middle English place names with BRIDGE-, RIDGE-, BURY- and MILL- in name-initial position.

		DB 1086		1101-1150		1151-1200		1201-1250				1251-1300										
spelling						e	u		i	u				e	i/y	u	e~i					
item BURY-	sub- total of names					1	1		1	1				5	3	4	1	Distribution of bury- by county, sub-period and spelling: Map 14.				
distribution by county																						
BED																1						
CAM										1					1							
ESS						1			1					2		1	1					
HRT							1							2		2						
HUN															2							
MDX														1								

Table 14 cont.: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /y/ in early Middle English place names with BRIDGE-, RIDGE-, BURY- and MILL- in name-initial position.

		DB 1086	1101-1150		1151-1200			1201-1250					1251-1300					Distribution of MILL- by county, sub-period and spelling: Map 15.
spelling		e			e	u	e~u	e	i	u	e~i~u	e	i	u	e~i/y	e~o~u	e~i~u	
item MILL- sub-total of names		2			1	1	1	3	2	1	2	10	2	2	2	1	1	
distribution by county																		
BED	2				1		1			1	2			1		1	1	
CAM												1			1			
ESS								1	1			6	2		1			
HRT						1		2				2		1				
HUN																		
MDX									1			1						

Table 14 above (p. 127) does not show the history of spelling variation recorded in individual names with BRIDGE-, RIDGE-, BURY- and MILL-. This information is provided in Table 15 below. Names, represented by their IDs, are listed by county separately for each item; the spellings are given in fifty-year sub-periods. Empty cells indicate that the place name is not attested in that sub-period. The spelling history of an individual name can be traced in the row in which the name appears. The history and geographical distribution of all the forty-six names in Table 15 can be found on three item maps, in section 4.3.2 below. Further details of the spelling of names, with exact dates and sources are included in the Data Appendix for variable Old English /y/.

Table 15: OE /y/ – history of spelling of individual place names when items BRIDGE-, RIDGE-, BURY- and MILL- are in name-initial position.<sup>125</sup>

Test item BRIDGE-							
County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
CAM	56	u					BRIDGE WARD
	56					i~u	BRIDGE ST
ESS	JZ					e	ST BOTHOLP'S BRIDGE
	MM					i	STRATFORD <i>Stratford Brigg</i>
HRT	SC					u	BRIDGEFOOT
	SQ					e	BRIDGEFOOT FM
HUN	TQ					y	FARCET <i>Faresheved Brygg</i>
TOTAL	7						

Test item RIDGE-							
County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
HRT	Q7				e~i	u	RIDGE
TOTAL	1						

Test item BURY-							
County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
BED	3V					u	BURY SPINNEY
CAM	5F					y	MELBOURN BURY
	6H				u		BOROUGH GROVE

125 See heading to Table 3 (p. 65) for the notes about the column PDE.

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
ESS	B5					e~i	NAZEINGBURY
	B6					e	BURY FM
	BJ					e	ROYDON BURY
	E9			e		u	GREAT and LITTLE BERRY
	GX				i		BURY WOOD
HRT	OS					e	BEARTON GREEN <i>Berton(e)</i>
	PF					u	BURYMILL END
	QB			u		e	BURSTON FM
	T9					u	BURY GREEN
HUN	U9					i/y	BURY
	VU					i	LITTLEBURY
MDX	XD					e	EDGWARE BURY
TOTAL	15						

Test item MILL-

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
BED	35	e		e~u	e~i~u	e~i~u	MILLOW <i>Milho</i>
	2K	e		e	e~i~u	e~o~u	MILLBROOK
	2U				u	u	SOUTH MILLS
CAM	56					e	MILNE WARD
	56					e~i	<i>Melnestrete</i>
ESS	BJ					e	MILL MEAD
	EQ					e	MILL FIELD
	GK					i	MILLHILL WOOD
	HE					e~y	POINTWELL MILL
	IV					e	MILL FIELD
	L1					e	MILL MEADOW
	L6					e	MILL FIELD
	M4				e		MILL FIELD
	MN					e	MILL FIELD
	N1				i		MILLER'S GREEN
	NJ					i	MILL FIELD



County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
<b>HRT</b>	PF			u			MILL MEADOW
	Q6					e	MILL END
	RJ					u	MILL ST
	RV					e	MILL END
	SX				e		WESTMILL
	T5				e		MILL MEAD
<b>MDX</b>	XL					e	MILLBROOK
	YC				i		<i>mill called</i> WAPPING
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>24</b>						

Table 16: Spelling variation of Old English /y/ in early Middle English place names with -BRIDGE, -RIDGE, -BURY and -MILL in name non-initial position.

Spelling is indicated in angular brackets, e.g.: <i>; a tilde between angular brackets indicates that a name is attested with either of the letters in a particular sub-period, e.g.: <e>~<i>~<u>.

OE /y/	DB 1086	1101-1150	1151-1200	1201-1250	1251-1300
-BRIDGE	<i> <u> <i>~<u>	<i/y> <u>	<e> <i> <u> <e>~<i> <i>~<u> <e>~<i>~<u>	<e> <i/y> <u> <e>~<u> <i/y>~<u> <e>~<i>~<u>	<e> <i/y> <u> <e>~<i/y> <e>~<u> <i/y>~<u> <e>~<i/y>~<u>
-RIDGE	<i>		<e> <i> <u> <e>~<i>	<i> <u> <i>~<u>	<u> <e>~<i> <e>~<u> <i>~<u> <e>~<i>~<u>
-BURY	<e> <e>~<y>	<e> <i>	<e> <i/y> <u> <e>~<i/y> <e>~<u> <i>~<u> <e>~<i>~<u>	<e> <i/y> <u> <e>~<i/y> <i>~<u> <e>~<i>~<u>	<e> <i/y> <u> <e>~<i/y> <e>~<u> <i/y>~<u> <e>~<i/y>~<u>
-MILL	<e>	<e>	<e>~<i>~<u>	<e> <i> <e>~<i>~<u>	<e> <i> <u> <i>~<u>

There is more variation in more sub-periods in -BRIDGE, -RIDGE, -BURY and -MILL in name non-initial position compared to their attestations in name-initial position in the 12th and 13th centuries. Names with these items are spelt with <e>, <i/y> and <u>, either exclusively or interchangeably, as indicated in Table 16 above. -BRIDGE, -BURY and -MILL in name non-initial position are attested in each fifty-year sub-period examined; -RIDGE is not attested in the first half of the 12th century, but appears in the second half and in the 13th century. All four items are also attested in DB.

A county by county summary of numbers of place names, with each spelling type, in each fifty-year sub-period, is given in Table 17 (p. 134) below. The table shows an overall increase in the amount of data from 1100 to 1300. There are six -BRIDGE, -BURY and -MILL names in the first half of the 12th century. All four items contribute to thirty-three names found in the second half. The numbers increase to sixty-two names in the first half of the 13th century and to a hundred and twenty-two names in the second half.

Three -BRIDGE names are attested in the first half of the 12th century compared to thirteen names found in the second half (six of them were also found earlier in DB). Nineteen -BRIDGE names appear in the first half of the 13th century and thirty-nine are found in the second half. There are five -RIDGE names in the second half of the 12th century and seven in the first half of the 13th century. The numbers increase to eleven in the second half of the 13th century. -RIDGE is also attested in two names in DB. Two names with -BURY are found in the first half of the 12th century and fourteen in the second half, compared to sixteen names attested in DB. Thirty-three -BURY names are attested in the first half of the 13th century and fifty-two in the second half. Only one place name is attested with -MILL in DB and in the 12th century. Three names appear by the middle of the 13th century and twenty names are found in the period from 1250 to 1300.

Table 17: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /y/ in early Middle English place names with -BRIDGE, -RIDGE, -BURY and -MILL in name non-initial position.

		DB 1086			1101 -1150			1151-1200						1201-1250						1251-1300						
spelling	i	u	i~u	i/y	u	e	i	u	e~i	e~u	i~u	e~i~u	e	i/y	u	i/y~u	e~i~u	e	i/y	u	e~i/y	e~u	i/y~u	e~i/y~u	Distribution of -BRIDGE by county, sub-period and spelling: Maps 16, 17, 18, 19 and 19a.	
	sub-total of names	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	1	3	1	3	7	2	5	2	10	18	1	2	1	5		2
distribution by county																										
BED										1						1		1					1			
CAM				1	1				1		1			1			1		4				1	1		
ELY														1					1	1						
ESS		1	2	1			2	2	1	1			1	2	2	1	3		7	10		2	1	1		
HRT											1				1				1	1						
HUN		1						1						1		1			2				1			
MDX						2					1		1	2			1	1					2			

Table 17 cont.: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /y/ in early Middle English place names with -BRIDGE, -RIDGE, -BURY and -MILL in name non-initial position.

	DB 1086	1101-1150	1151-1200				1201-1250			1251-1300					
<i>spelling</i>	i		e	i	u	e~i	i	u	i~u	u	e~i	e~u	i~u	e~i~u	Distribution of -ridge by county, sub-period and spelling: Maps 20 and 21.
	<i>item</i>	<i>sub-total of -ridge names</i>	2	1	1	1	3	2	2	4	1	1	4	1	
<i>distribution by county</i>															
	BED		1					1	1	1			1		
	ESS			1								1			
	HRT	2	1		1	1	3	1	1	3	1		3	1	

Table 17 cont.: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /y/ in early Middle English place names with -BRIDGE, -RIDGE, -BURY and -MUL in name non-initial position.

		DB 1086				1101-1150				1151-1200						1201-1250						1251-1300						
spelling		e	e~i/y	e	i	e	i/y	u	e~i/y	e~u	i~u	e~i~u	e	i/y	u	e~i i/y	i/y~u	e~i~u	e	i/y	u	e~i/y	e~u	i/y~u	e~i/y~u	Distribution of -BURY by county, sub- period and spelling: Maps 22, 23, 24, 24a, 25 and 25a.		
item	sub- total of -BURY names	14	2	1	1	3	2	1	3	1	2	2	4	13	2	8	4	2	9	10	12	5	3	10	3			
distribution by county																												
	BED	1				1		1						2	2	1	1			1	1			3	1			
	CAM						1							1					1			1						
	ESS	6	2	1		1			2	1		1	1	3		6		2	3	7	2	4		3	1			
	HRT	3									1	1	1	2		1	2		3	1	7		1	2				
	HUN	2			1				1		1			3			1			1			1					
	MDX	2				1	1						2	2					2		2		2	1	1			

Table 17 cont.: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /y/ in early Middle English place names with -BRIDGE, -RIDGE, -BURY and -MILL in name non-initial position.

		DB 1086	1101-1150	1151-1200		1201-1250			1251-1300					Distribution of -MILL by county, sub-period and spelling: Maps 26 and 28.
<i>spelling</i>		e	e	e~i~u		e	i	e~i~u	e	i	u	i~u		
<i>item</i>	<i>sub-total of names</i>	1	1	1		1	1	1	12	2	5	1		
-MILL														
<i>distribution by county</i>														
	BEED						1					1		
	CAM								3		1			
	ELY													
	ESS								6					
	HRT	1	1	1				1	3	1	4			
	HUN													
	MDX					1				1				



The spellings found in the history of each place name attested for each item -BRIDGE, -RIDGE, -BURY and -MILL are given in Table 18 below. The data is divided into fifty-year sub-periods from 1100 to 1300; DB attestations are given for comparison. Empty cells indicate that the place name is not attested in the sub-periods specified. The spelling data in each row shows the history of individual place names. The place names are arranged by county in each section of the table, covering each item separately. The total numbers of names attested for each item are given at the bottom of the second column (ID column) of each section. The total number of all the names attested for all items can be obtained by adding the totals at the bottom of each section of Table 18. -BRIDGE, -RIDGE, -BURY and -MILL are found in one hundred and thirty-eight place names from 1100 to 1300. One -BURY name and three -MILL names are also attested in name-initial position, and are therefore counted twice.

Table 18 (below) also allows to check how many names are attested for the first time in the corpus in each sub-period. For example, two of the three -BRIDGE names found in the first half of the 12th century are attested for the first time in this corpus in this sub-period: the third name is also attested earlier, in DB. Seven of the thirteen -BRIDGE names attested in the second half of the 12th century are first attested in this corpus in this sub-period. Nine of the nineteen names that appear in the first half of the 13th century are not attested before. Twenty-four of the thirty-nine -BRIDGE names that are found in the second half of the 13th century appear for the first time in this corpus in this sub-period.

Table 18: OE /y/ – history of spelling of individual place names when items -BRIDGE, -RIDGE, -BURY and -MILL are in name non-initial position.<sup>126</sup>

Test item -BRIDGE							
County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
BED	4I			e~u	i/y~u	i/y~u	STANBRIDGE
	4Y					e	SHEFFORD <i>Skegfordbregge</i>
CAM	56	i~u	i/y	i/y~u	e~i~u	e~i/y~u	CAMBRIDGE
	56			e~i		i~u	STOURBRIDGE COMMON
	6I					i	WHITTLESFORD BRIDGE
	6V					i	LANGFORD ARCH <i>Longeforthebrige</i>
	7J					i	REACH BRIDGE
	7Q				i		WOODBIDGE FIELD

<sup>126</sup> See heading to Table 3 (p. 65) for the notes about the column PDE.

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
	8O					i	OVER <i>iuxta Cantebrig</i>
ELY	A7					i	ELFORD CLOSES <i>Eldeford(brigge)</i>
	AO					u	FRIDAY BRIDGE
	AY				i		RING'S END <i>Ringgebrigge</i>
ESS	BC					i	LANG BRIDGE
	BS				i~u		ABRIDGE
	CB					e	PASSINGFORD BRIDGE
	CV				e		WYEBRIDGE FM
	DI					e	DELL BRIDGE
	FF	u (i 1087)		u	i~u	e~u	STAMBRIDGE
	FK					i	STONEBRIDGE
	FU	i~u		e~i~u	i~u	e~i	FAMBRIDGE
	FZ			i		e	FULLBRIDGE
	G3					i	NORTON <i>iuxta ffanbrigge</i>
	GU			e			DERESBRIDGE
	GX	i				i	COWBRIDGE GRANGE
	H2					i	SPARE BRIDGE
	H6					e	RISBRIDGE
	HA					i/y	TWO BRIDGE
	HM			i		i	FAMBRIDGE FM
	HQ	u		e~i	u	i	HOWBRIDGE
	HT			e	e~u	e~i~u	HEYBRIDGE
	IC					e~i/y	KINGSFORD BRIDGE
	IJ					e	PAYNE'S FM <i>Paynesbregg(e)</i>
	JG				i		HOUBRIDGE HALL
	JS					e	NEW BRIDGE
	JW					i	CHAPEL <i>Britesbrig</i>
	MP				i	i	FARMBRIDGE END
	O2					e	BOUND'S BRIDGE
HRT	QC			i~u	i~u	i	THEBRIDGE
	TB					e	COWBRIDGE
HUN	TY	i		i	i~u	i/y	BOTOLPH BRIDGE

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
	UN				i		WOOD WALTON <i>Waldebrigg</i>
	VJ					y	COCKBROOK LODGE <i>Cukisbrygg</i>
	VZ					i~u	HAIL BRIDGE
<b>MDX</b>	XB		u	i~u	e~i~u	i~u	UXBRIDGE
	XQ				e		BOLLO BRIDGE
	XW					e	<i>Cubreggestrete</i>
	YJ		u		i	i~u	KNIGHTSBRIDGE
	YJ				i		ST MARY le STRAND <i>Ulebrigg</i>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>48</b>						

Test item -RIDGE

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	
<b>BED</b>	4L			e	u	i~u	COWRIDGE END
	4O				i~u	u	RAMRIDGE END
<b>ESS</b>	B5			i		e~u	LANGRIDGE
<b>HRT</b>	OZ				i~u	u	PUTTERIDGE BURY
	PD			u		i~u	ASHRIDGE
	Q9	i		e~i	u	u	WINDRIDGE FM
	QC	i				i~u	SANDRIDGE
	QW					e~i	SHERRARDS HO <i>Sheregge</i>
	RG			e	i	e~i~u	TOTTERIDGE
	SR				i	u	PUCKERIDGE
	SV				i	i~u	THUNDRIDGE
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11</b>						

Test item -BURY

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
<b>BED</b>	12					u	ALDERMANBURY
	1T				u		TRIKETSBURY
	24				e~y	e~i/y~u	CADBURY
	24	e		u	i~u	y	SUDBURY
	2D				i	y~u	MEDBURY
	4K				u	i/y~u	LIMBURY

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
	4M			e	i	i/y~u	UPBURY
CAM	6A			y	i	e	VANDELBURY
	6T					e~y	LIMBERHURST FM
ESS	B3				e	u	EPPING BURY
	B9	e (u 1093)		e~i	e~i~u	e~i/y	HALLINGBURY
	B9				e~i	i/y	WALLBURY
	B9					e	MONKS BURY
	C8				i	i~u	LITLEBURY
	CN				e~i	y~u	SUDBURY
	CO					e	CLAYBURY
	EN	e (y 1066-87)		e~u	e~i~u	i/y	TILBURY
	EV					y	SHOEBURY WOOD
	FB	e		e~i~u	e~i/y	e~i/y	SHOEBURY
	GN	e			e~i/y	e~i/y~u	DANBURY
	HA					e	GREENBERRY LODGE
	HV	e			i/y	i/y	TOLLESBURY
	M6	e	e	e	e~i	i~u	TILBURY-JUXTA-CLARE
	MV	e~i			e~i/y	e~i/y	MASHBURY
	NZ					e~y	CRAWLEY BURY
	O6	e~y		e~i/y	i	i	LITTLEBURY
	O6					i	HOWE WOOD <i>Lytlebirho</i>
	O7					u	NEWPORT <i>Newburg</i>
	OO					i	ALBURY
HRT	P5	e			i~u	e~u	ALDBURY
	PR					u	NEWBERRIES PARK
	Q6					u	ALDBURY BUSHES
	Q8			i~u		i	KINGSBURY
	QB					i~u	PARKBURY
	QD					u	OLLEBERRIE FM
	QE					u	EASTBURY
	QV					e	GODBURY
	RA				i		NEWBERRY GROVE
	RZ	e			i~u	u	ALBURY
	SB				e		STONEBURY

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
	SM			e~i~u	y	u	GATESBURY
	SM					e	CALVERY ORCHARD <i>Caldeberi</i>
	SQ					u	PISHOBURY
	SX					e	AULBURY FIELD
	TC	e			e~y	i/y~u	HERTINGFORDBURY
HUN	UU	e		e~i	i~u	i~u	ALCONBURY
	VI				i		ALCONBURY WESTON
	VQ	e	i	i~u	i/y	i/y	EYNESBURY
	VU				i/y		LITTLEBURY
MDX	WM	e		e	e	e~i/y~u	SUNBURY
	XE					e~u	SUDBURY
	XG	e		i	i	u	KINGSBURY
	XW				i	y~u	FINSBURY
	Y3					e	BLOOMSBURY
	YH					u	BRONDESBURY
	YH				e	e~u	MAPESBURY
	YJ					e	EBURY
TOTAL	57						

Test item -MILL

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
BED	2U				i	i~u	SOUTH MILL
CAM	64					e	HARSTON MILL
	6H					e	MILL LANE
	7M					u	MILL RD
	99					e	NESS HO <i>Nesmelne</i>
ESS	HE					e	POINTWELL MILL
	HI					e	HUSKETT'S MILLS
	KB					e	FEERING MILL (local) and OLD MILL
	KX					e	MILL FM
	L9					e	MILL FM
	MM					e	POOL PASTURE ( <i>Polmelne</i> )

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
<b>HRT</b>	P6					u	MILLFIELD HO
	PF					i	BURYMILL END
	PF					e	TWO WATERS <i>Tuewatirmelne</i>
	PI					u	APSLEY END and MILL
	PI					u	NASH MILLS
	PL					u	BANKMILL
	SV					e	WADESMILL
	SW					e	WESTMILL
	SX	e	e	e~i~u	e~i~u		WESTMILL
<b>MDX</b>	XW					i	TURNMILL ST
	Y8				e		OLD FORD <i>Eldefordmelne</i>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22</b>						

### 4.3.2 Maps

The results summarised in Table 14 (p. 127), Table 15 (p. 130), Table 17 (p. 134) and Table 18 (p. 138) are here presented on sixteen maps. Map 13, Map 14 and Map 15 show the distribution of items *BRIDGE-*, *RIDGE-*, *BURY-* and *MILL-* in name-initial position, whereas Maps 16-26 show *-BRIDGE*, *-RIDGE*, *-BURY* and *-MILL* in name non-initial position. Map 27 compares attestations of *BRIDGE-* with its Latin equivalent *pont-* in name-initial position. Finally, Map 28 shows the distribution of names with *MILL* and *molend*, the Latin form of the item, used in the period examined.

Map 13: history of *BRIDGE-* and *RIDGE-* in name-initial position.

Map 14: history of *BURY-* in name-initial position.

Map 15: history of *MILL-* in name-initial position.

Map 16: increase in the numbers of place names with *-BRIDGE* in name non-initial position.

Map 17: history of *-BRIDGE* from 1100 to 1200 in name non-initial position.

Map 18: history of *-BRIDGE* from 1201 to 1250 in name non-initial position.

Map 19: history of *-BRIDGE* from 1251 to 1300 in name non-initial position.

Map 20: history of *-RIDGE* from 1100 to 1250 in name non-initial position.

Map 21: history of *-RIDGE* from 1251 to 1300 in name non-initial position.

Map 22: increase in the numbers of place names with *-BURY* in name non-initial position.

Map 23: history of *-BURY* from 1100 to 1200 in name non-initial position.

Map 24: history of *-BURY* from 1201 to 1250 in name non-initial position.

Map 25: history of *-BURY* from 1251 to 1300 in name non-initial position.

Map 26: history of *-MILL* from 1100 to 1300 in name non-initial position.

Map 27: attestations of *BRIDGE-* and *pont-* (in name-initial position) from 1100 to 1300.

Map 28: attestations of *MILL* and *molend* from 1100 to 1300.

There are two versions each of Map 19, Map 24 and Map 25, one without the IDs, for a clear view of the distribution, and the second one (labelled Map 19a, Map 24a and Map 25a) with the IDs, for ease of identification of the place names.

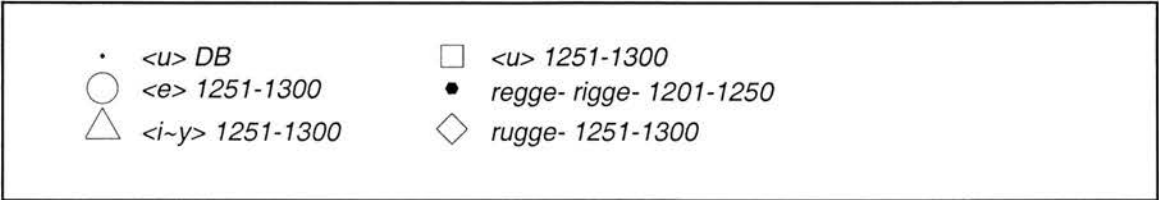
See the Key Map (p. 2) for the locations of the counties investigated. The use of more than one symbol for a given location on maps is explained below the list of maps in section 4.2.2 on p. 75 above.



Map 13: History of BRIDGE- and RIDGE- (in name-initial position) from 1100 to 1300 (with DB).

Two BRIDGE- names are recorded at location 56 (in CAM): BRIDGE WARD with <u> in DB, and BRIDGE ST with <i> and <u> in the period 1251-1300. JZ (in ESS) appears also with *pont*; see Map 27 (p. 162) below.

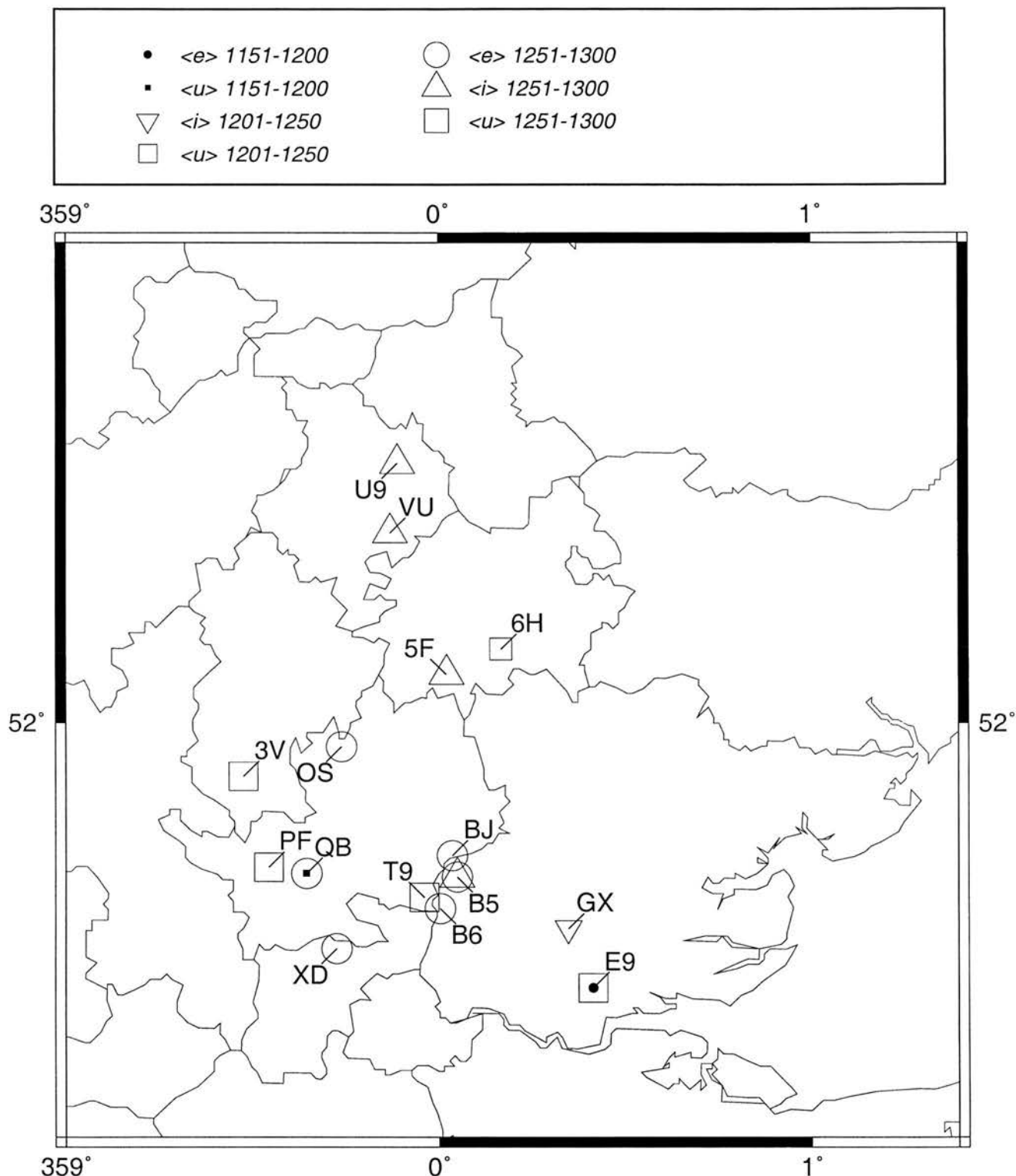
RIDGE- is attested in one place name only, Q7 (in HRT), in both halves of the 13th century, with the spellings as indicated in the legend.



Map 14: History of BURY- (in name-initial position) from 1151 to 1300.

There are no BURY- names attested before the second half of the 12th century; 2 names are recorded in the period 1151-1200: E9 with <e> in ESS and QB with <u> in HRT. 2 names are recorded in the first half of the 13th century: GX with <i> in ESS and 6H with <u> in CAM. 13 names come from the second half of the 13th century: 5 with <e> XD, B6, BJ, QB, OS; 1 with <e> and <i> B5; 3 with <i> 5F, VU, U9; 4 with <u> T9, PF, 3V and E9.

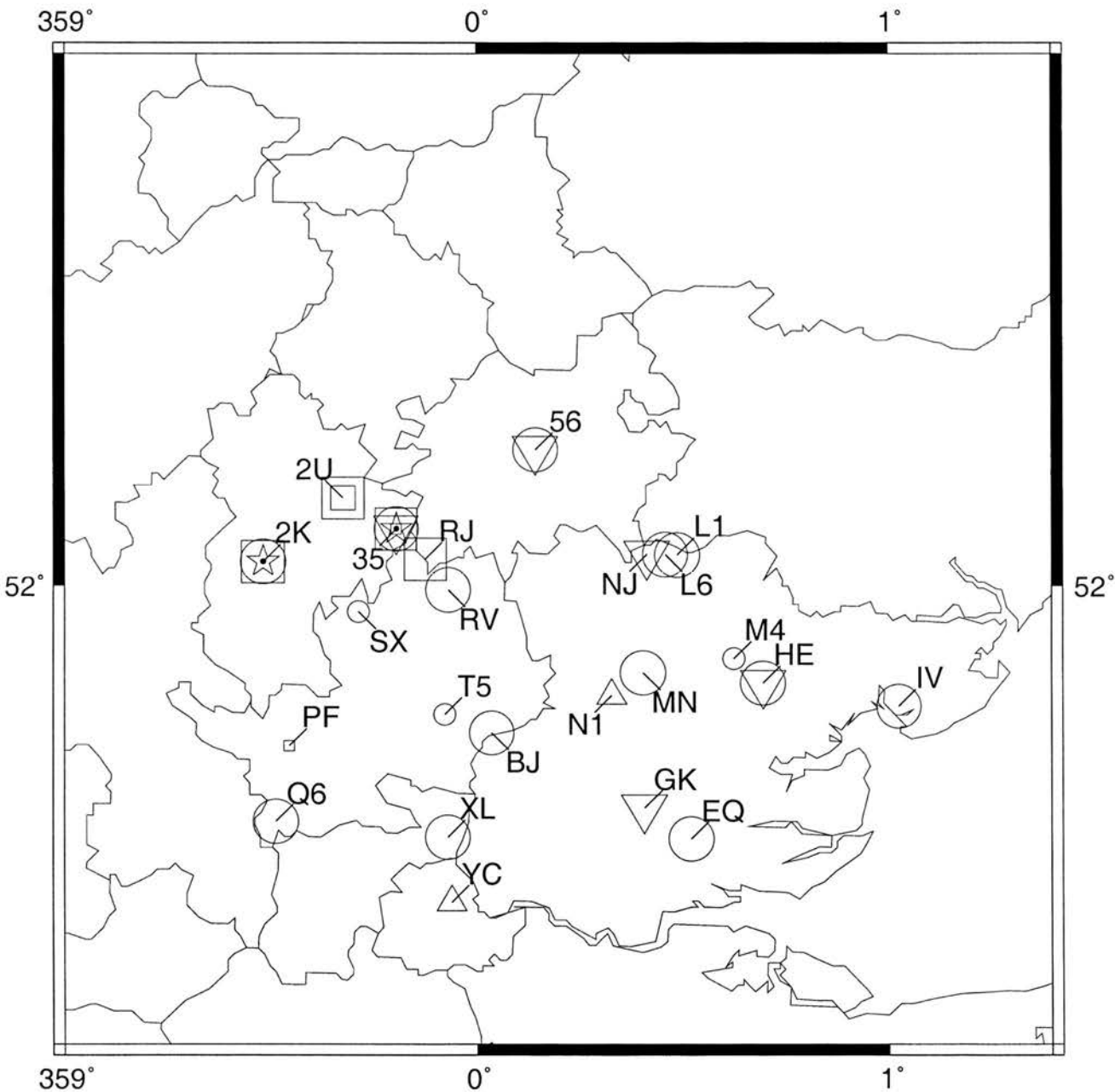
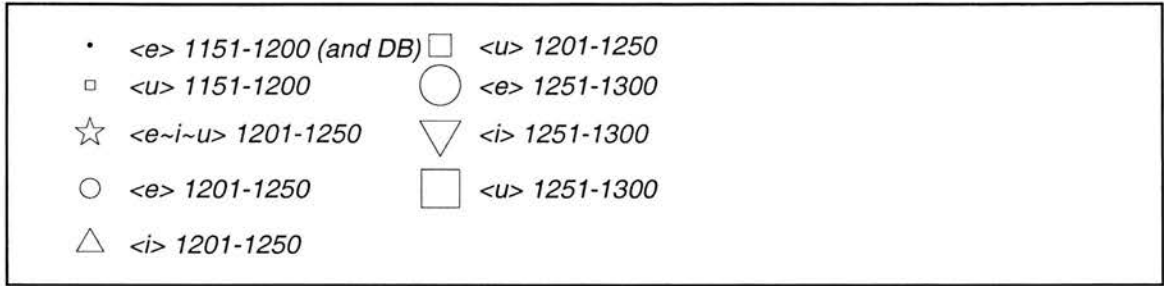
BURY appears also in name non-initial position in the name represented by VU in HUN, see Map 24 (p. 157) and Map 24a (p. 158).



Map 15: History of MILL- (in name-initial position) from 1100 to 1300 (with DB).

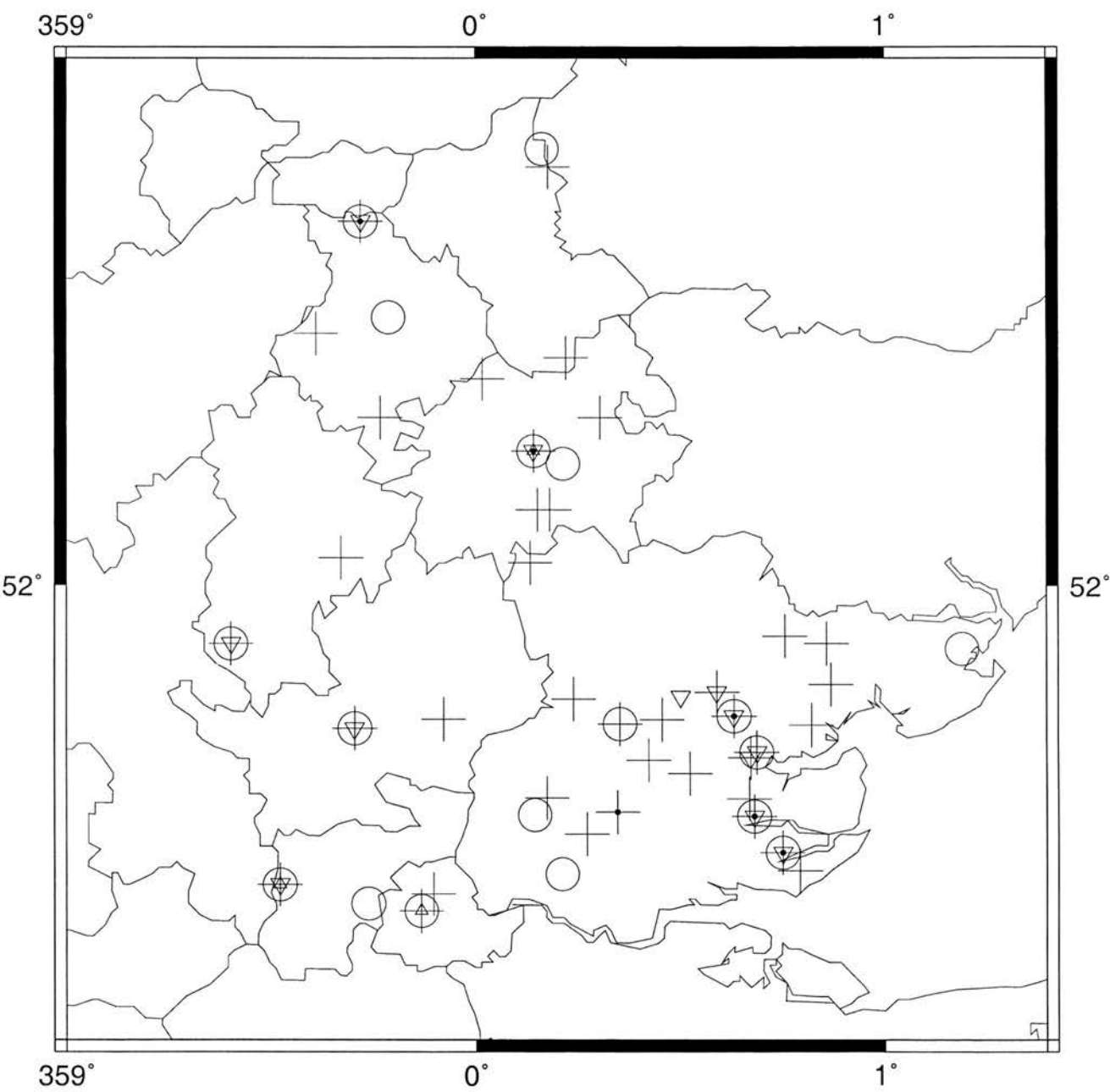
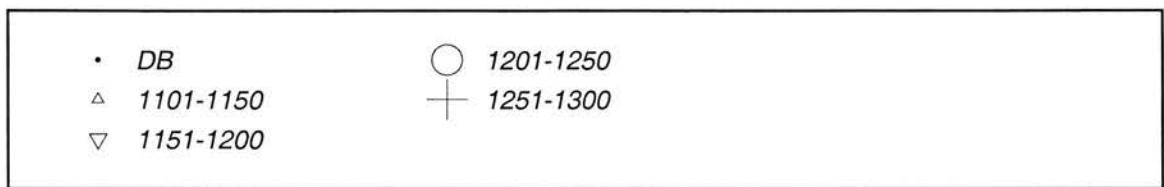
Two names are recorded at location 56 (in CAM) in the second half of the 13th century: MILNE WARD with <e> and *Melnestrete* with <e> and <i>.

MILL appears also in name non-initial position in names represented by 2U (in BED), SX (in HRT) and HE (in ESS), see Map 26 (p. 161).



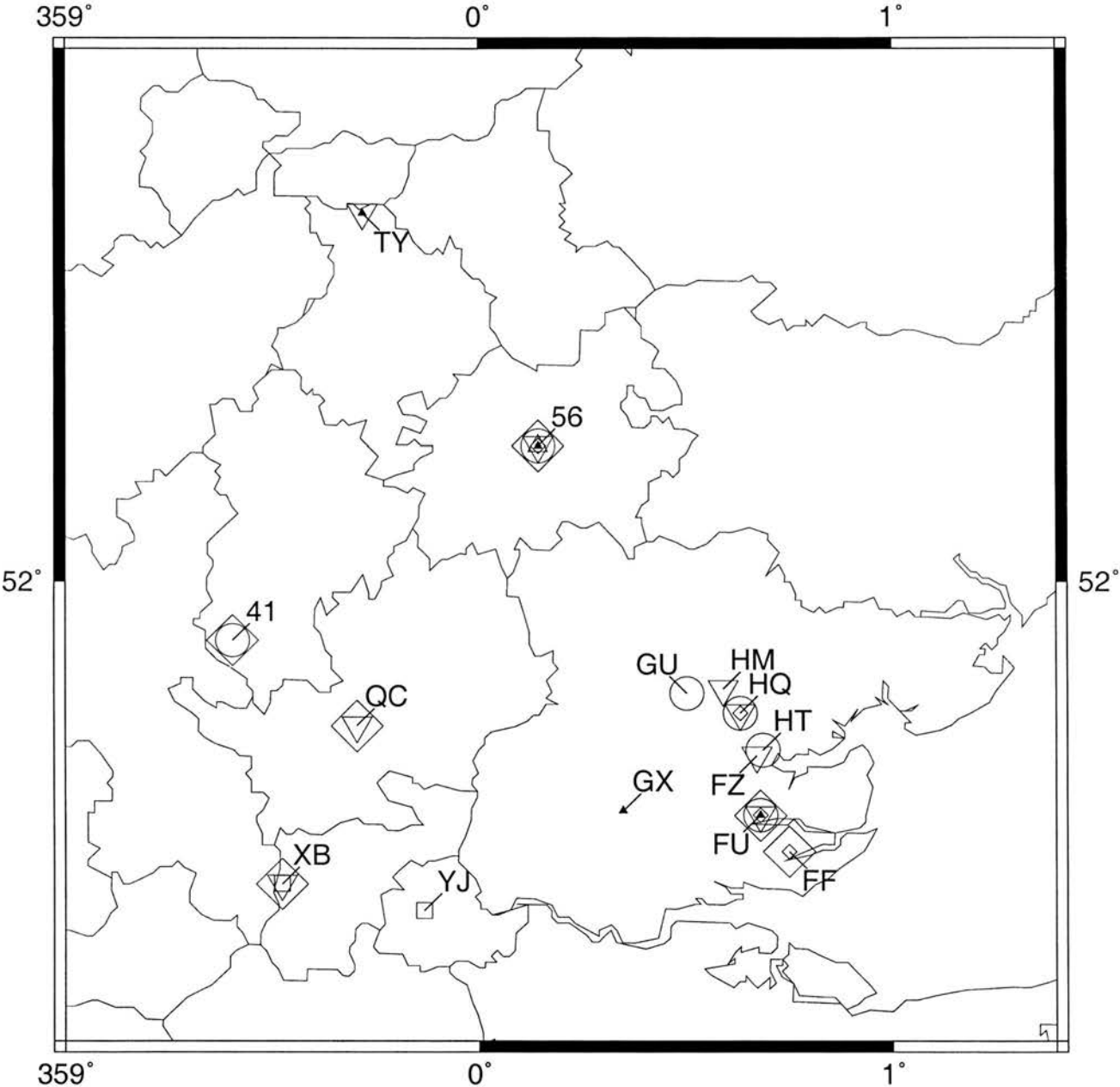
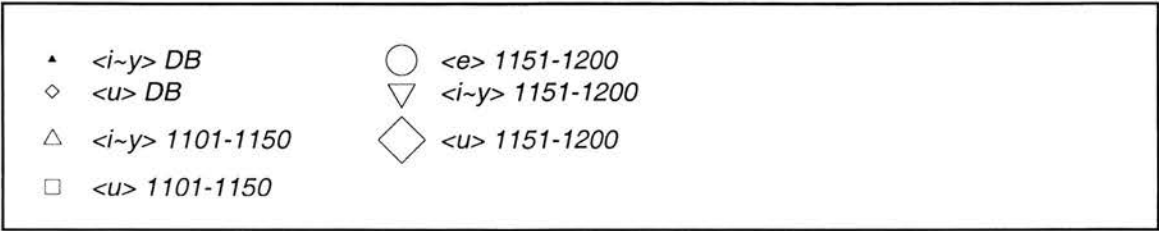
Map 16: History of attestations of -BRIDGE (item in name non-initial position) from 1100 to 1300 (with DB).

Two names are recorded at one location in CAM, see notes to Map 17 (p. 149) and Map 19a (p. 152). Two names are also recorded at one location in MDX, see notes to Map 18 (p. 150).



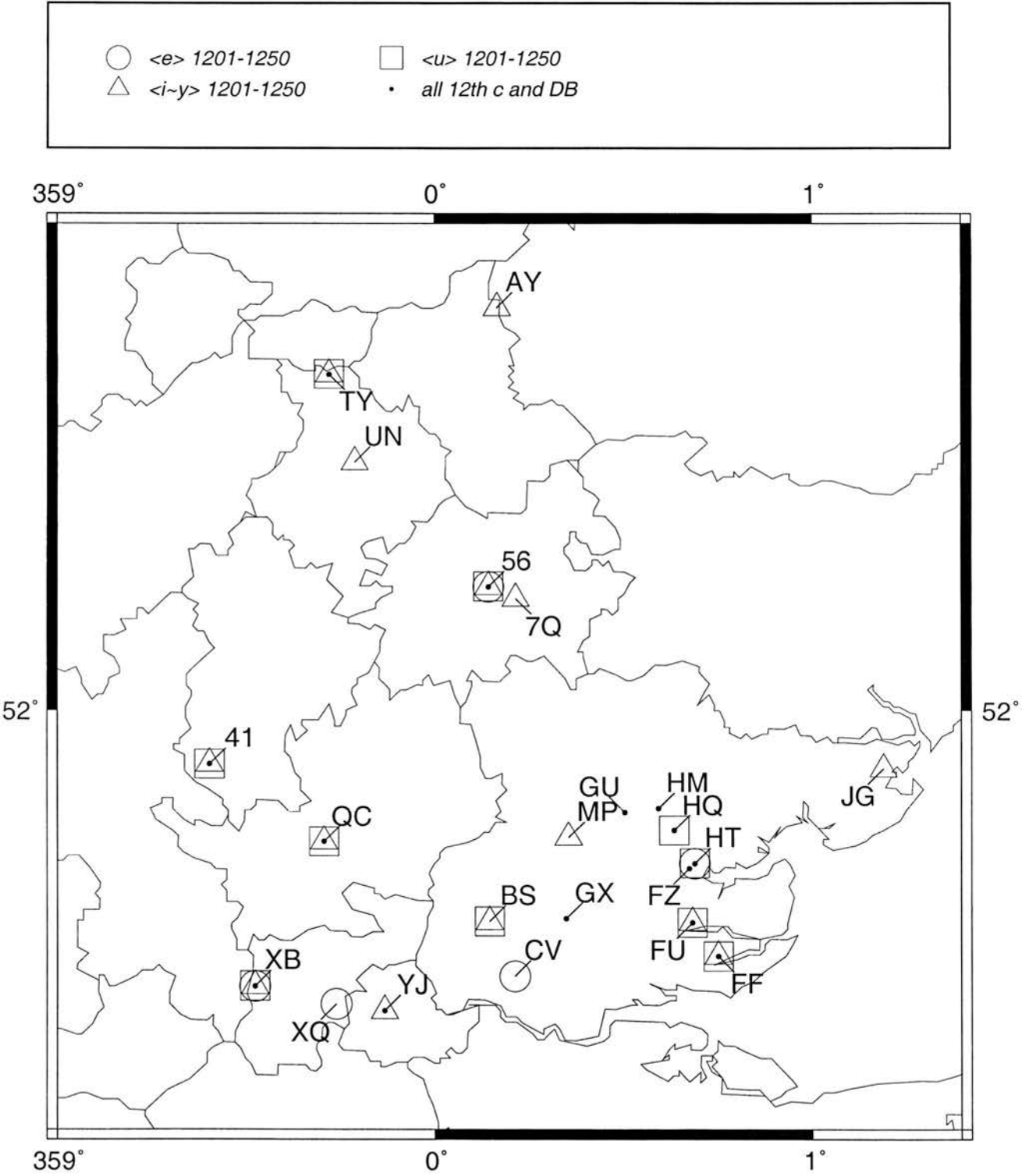
Map 17: History of -BRIDGE (in name non-initial position) from 1100 to 1200 (with DB).

Two names are recorded at location 56 (in CAM) in the second half of the 12th century: CAMBRIDGE with <i/y> and <u>, and STOURBRIDGE COMMON with <e> and <i/y>.



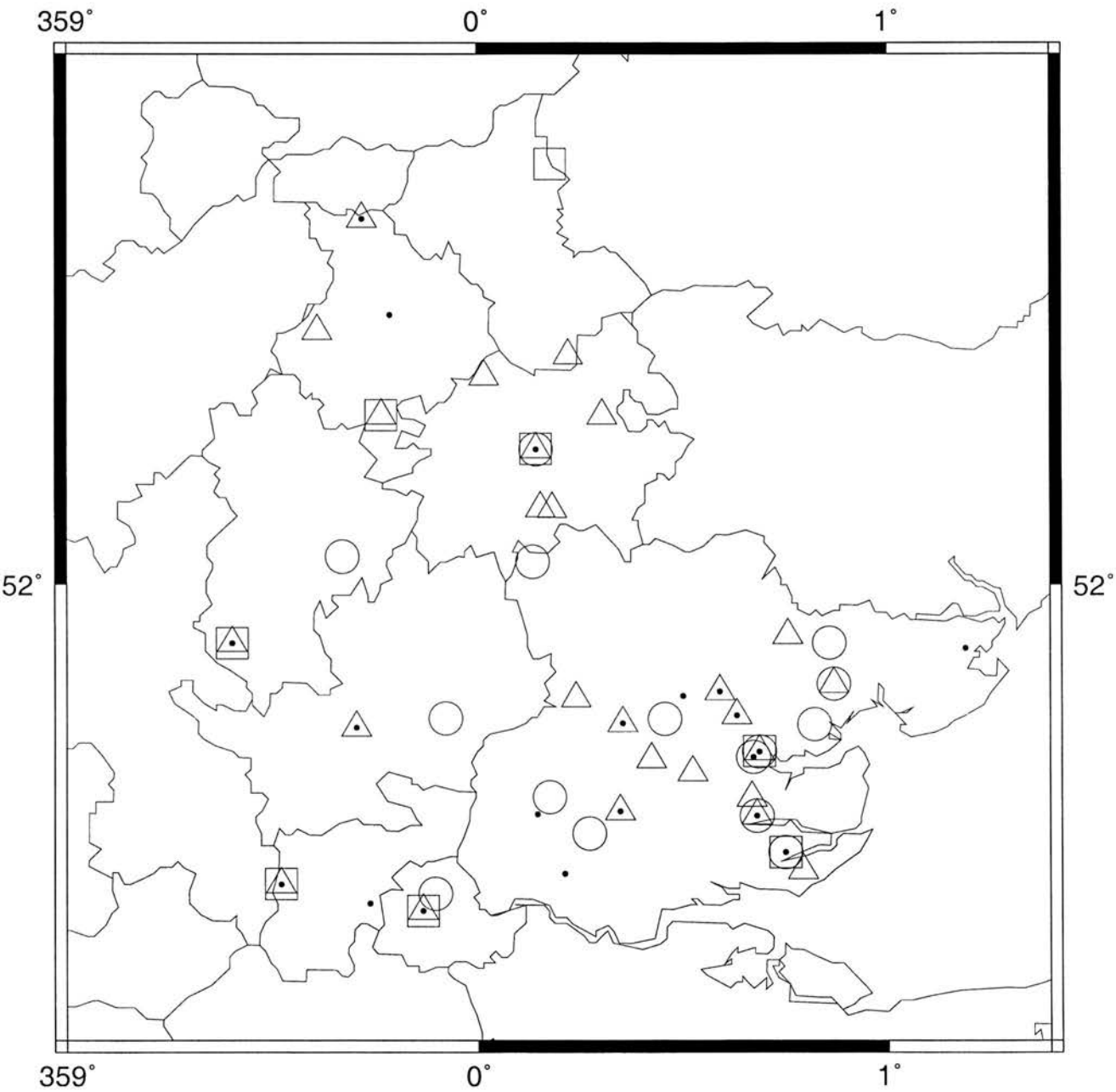
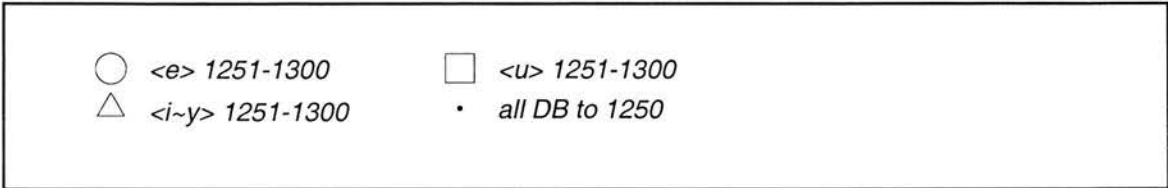
Map 18: History of -BRIDGE (in name non-initial position) from 1201 to 1250 with 12th century and DB locations for reference.

Two names are recorded at location YJ (in MDX): KNIGHTSBRIDGE and ST MARY le STRAND (a -BRIDGE name), both with <i>.



Map 19: History of -BRIDGE (in name non-initial position) from 1251 to 1300 with locations from 1100 to 1250 (and in DB) for reference.

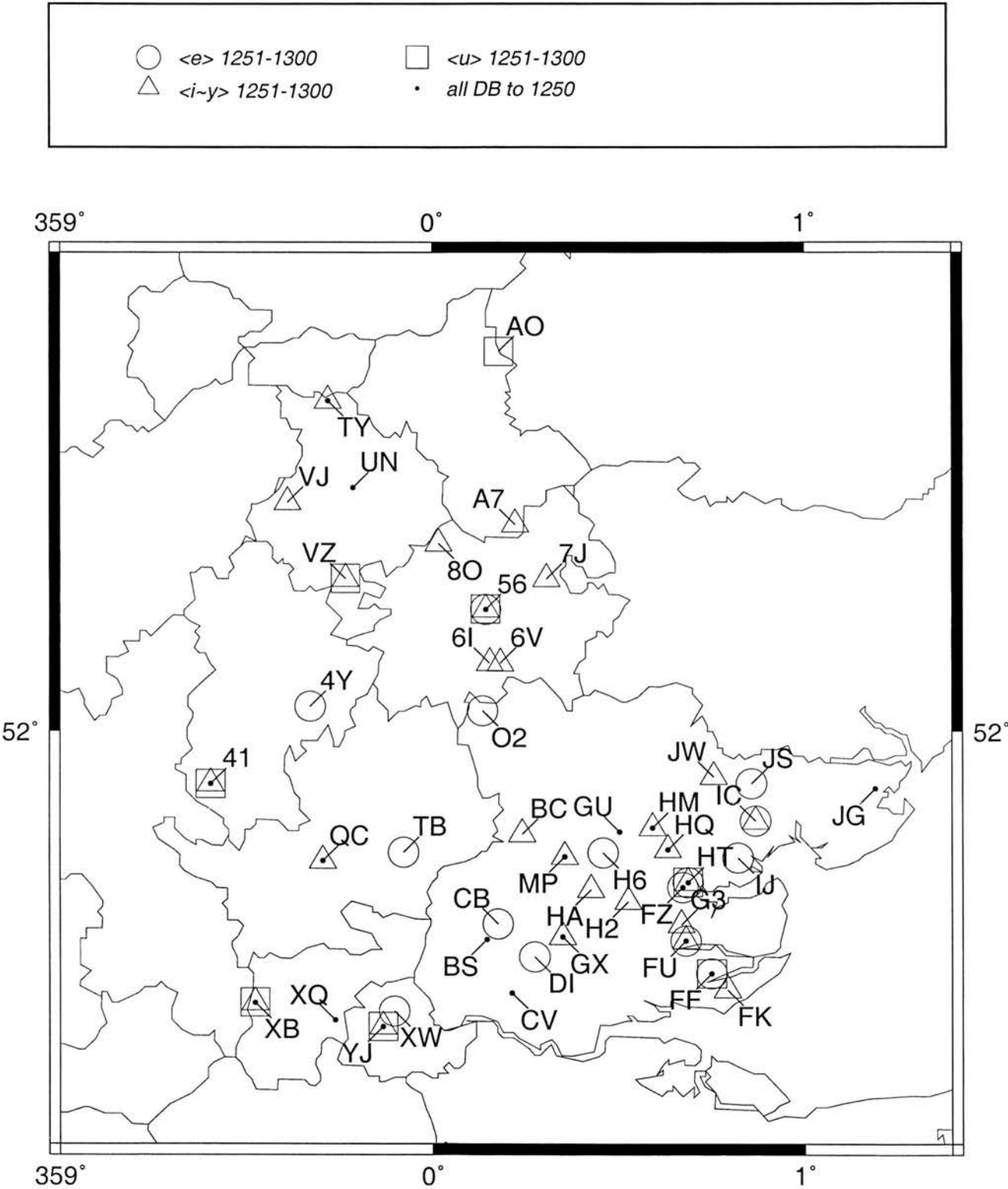
See Map 19a (p. 152) for location ID tags.





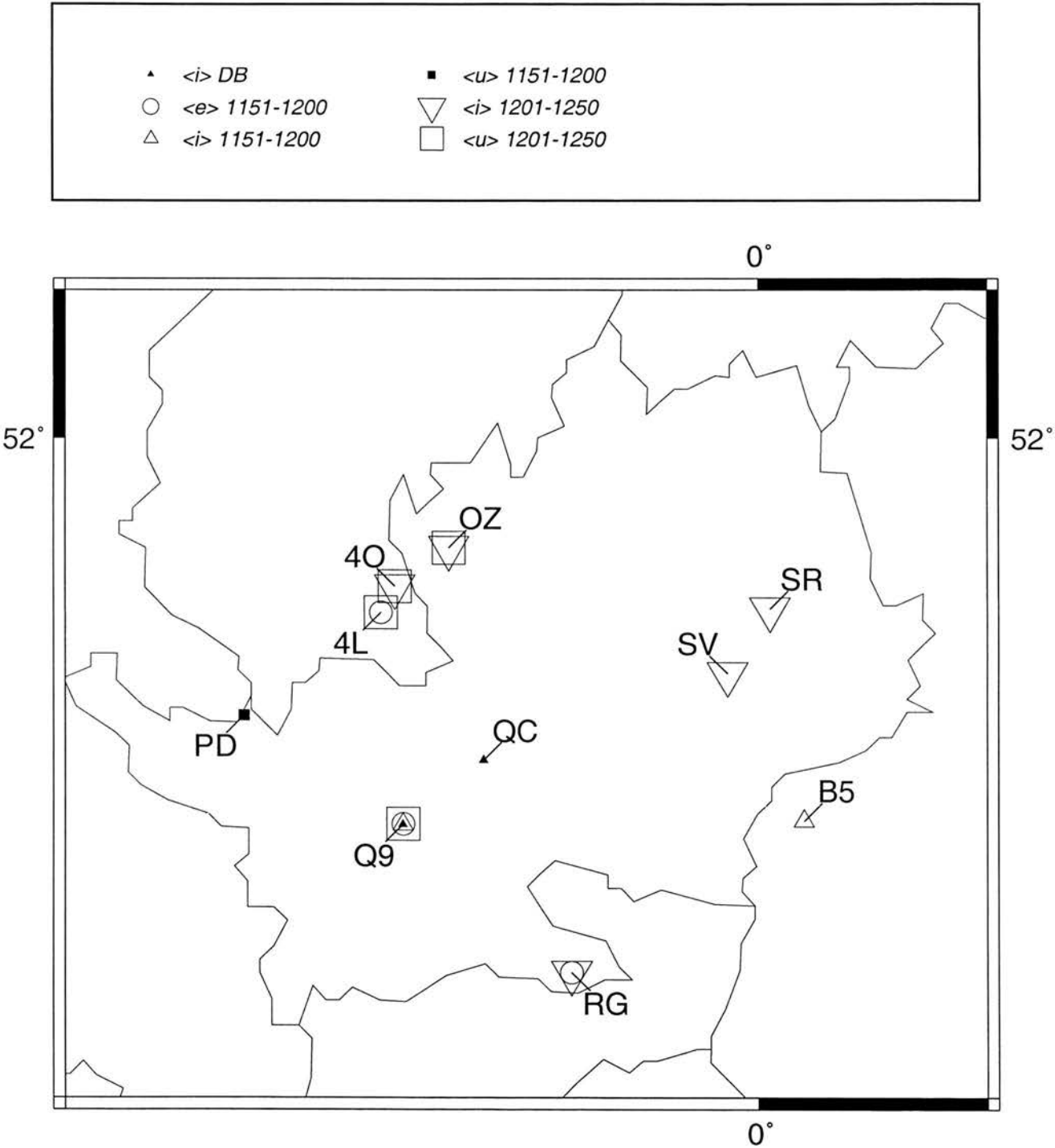
Map 19a: History of -BRIDGE (in name non-initial position) from 1251 to 1300 with locations from 1100 to 1250 (and in DB) for reference; locations are given with ID tags.

Two names are recorded at location 56 (in CAM): CAMBRIDGE with <e>, <i/y> and <u>, and STOURBRIDGE COMMON with <i> and <u>. Three names appear also with *pont*: 6I (in CAM), BC and JW in ESS.



Map 20: History of -RIDGE (in name non-initial position) from 1151 to 1250, with DB data for comparison.

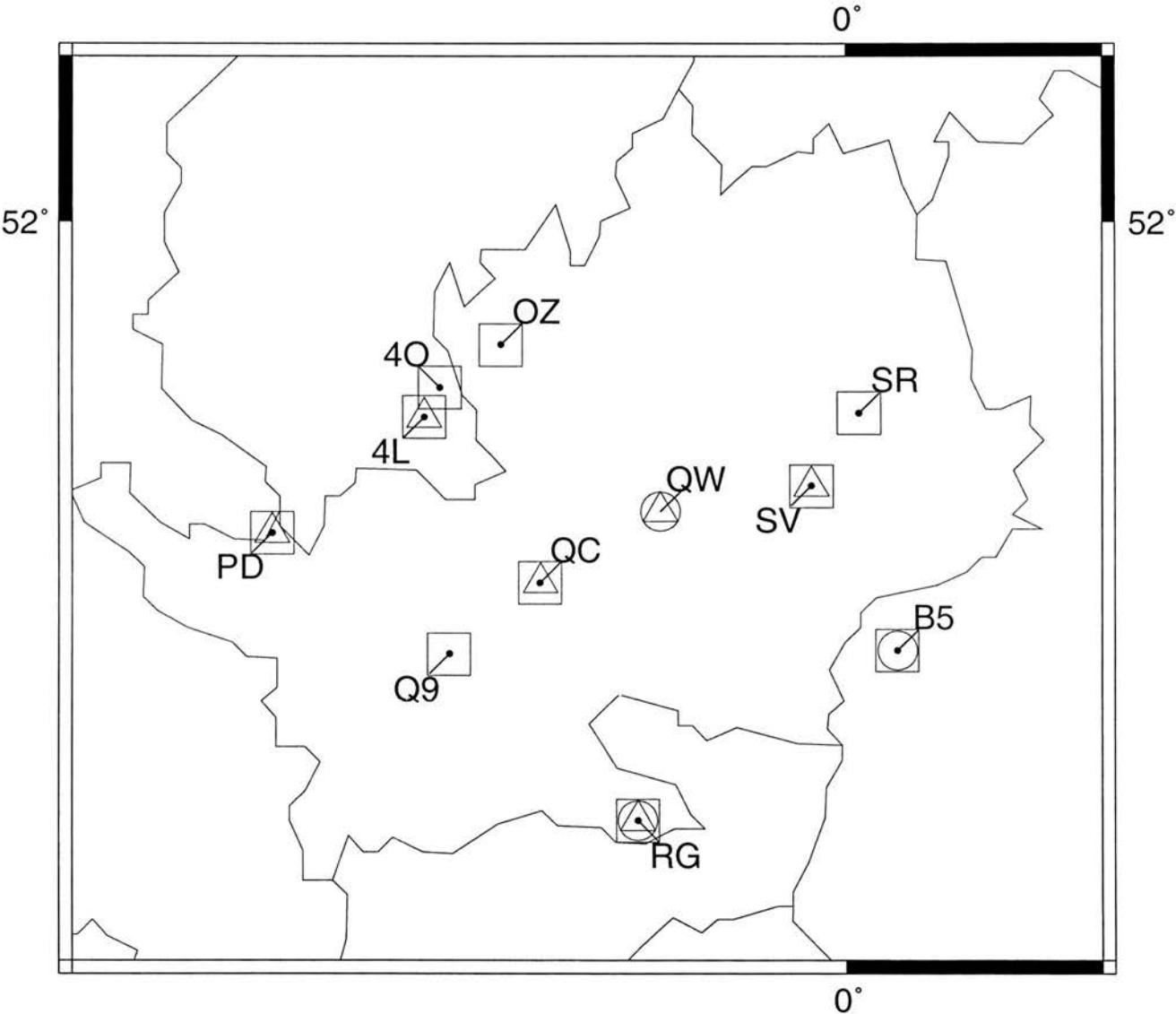
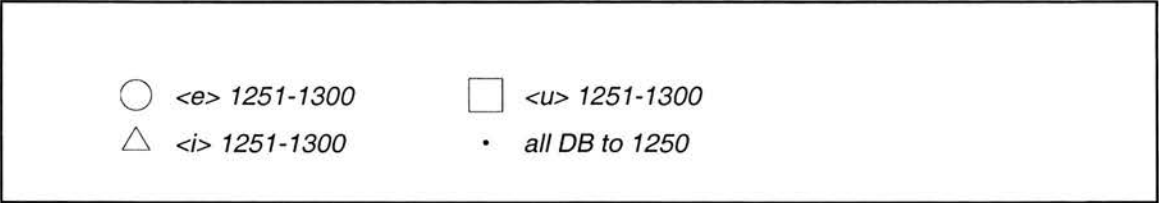
The area shown is HRT (with border areas of the adjacent counties); seven locations are in HRT: OZ, PD, Q9, QC, RG, SV and SR; B5 is in ESS and 4L and 4O are in BED.



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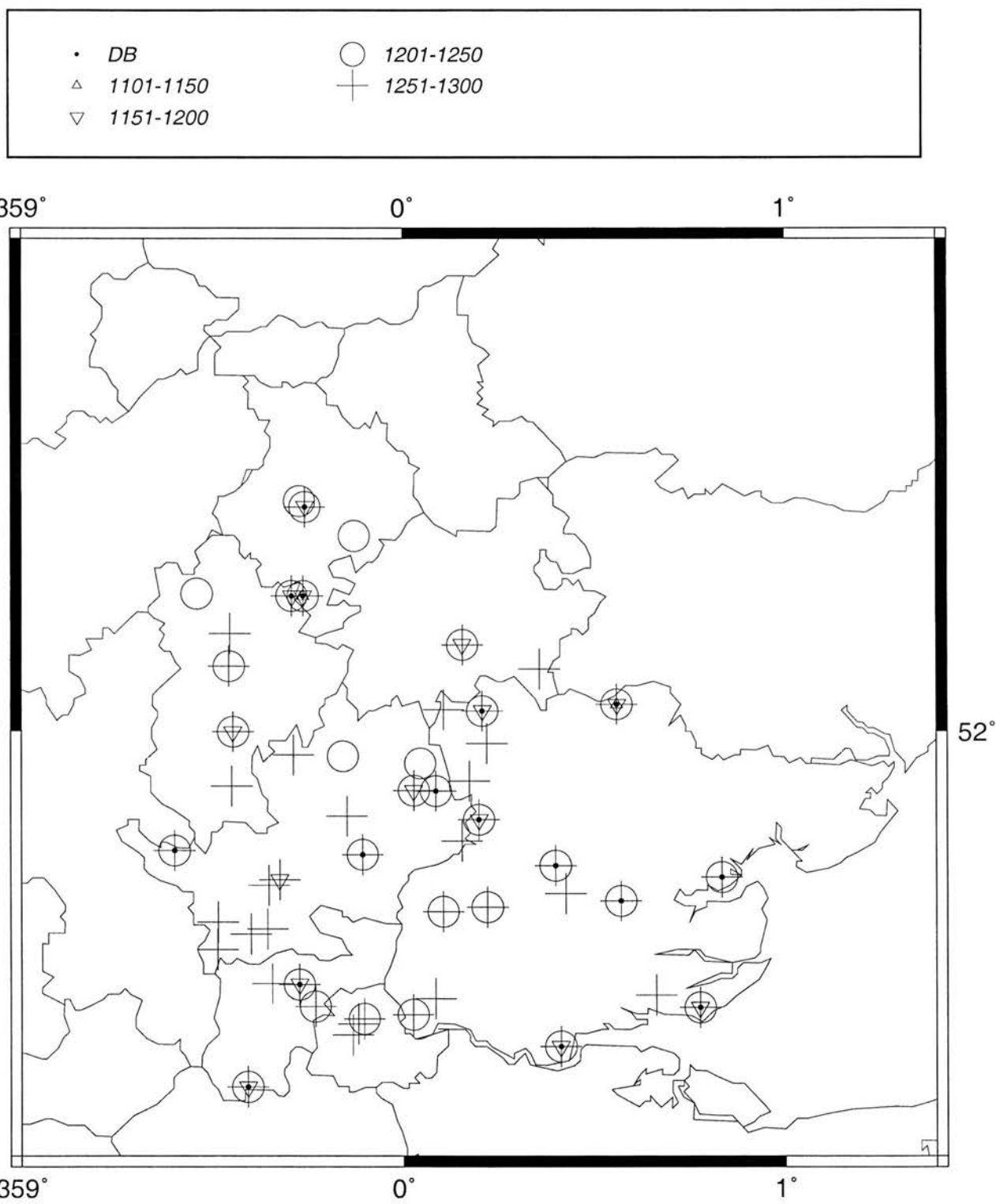
Map 21: History of -ridge (in name non-initial position) from 1251 to 1300, with locations from 1100 to 1250 (and in DB) for reference.

The area shown is HRT (with border areas of the adjacent counties); eight locations are in HRT: OZ, PD, Q9, QC, QW, SR, SV and RG; B5 is in ESS and 4L and 4O are in BED.

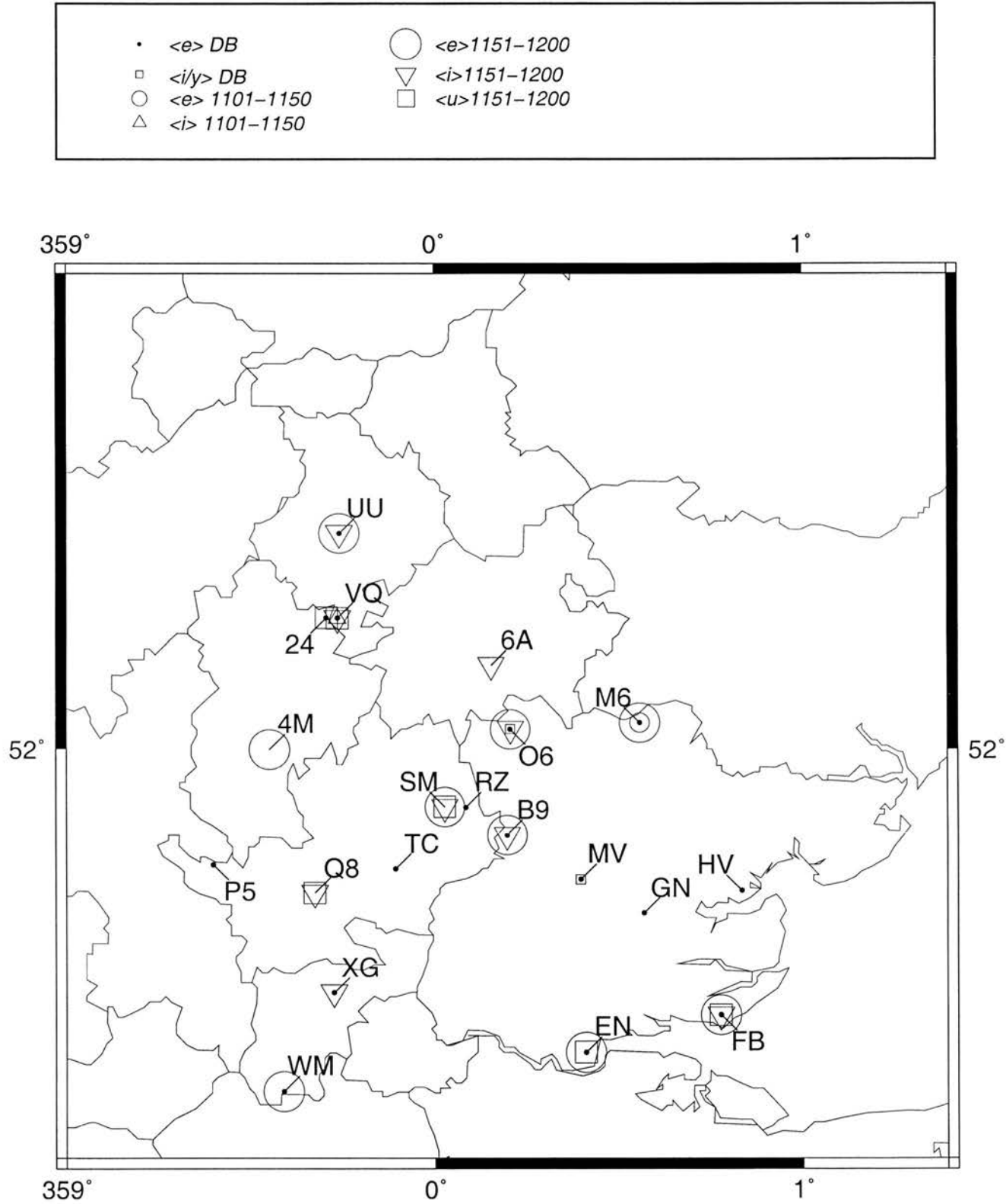


Map 22: History of attestations of -BURY (in name non-initial position) from 1100 to 1300 (and in DB).

Two names are recorded at one location in BED, three names are recorded at one location in ESS, another location in ESS attests two names, also two names are recorded at one location in HRT and at one location in MDX, see notes to Map 24 (p. 157), Map 24a (p. 158) and Map 25a (p. 160).



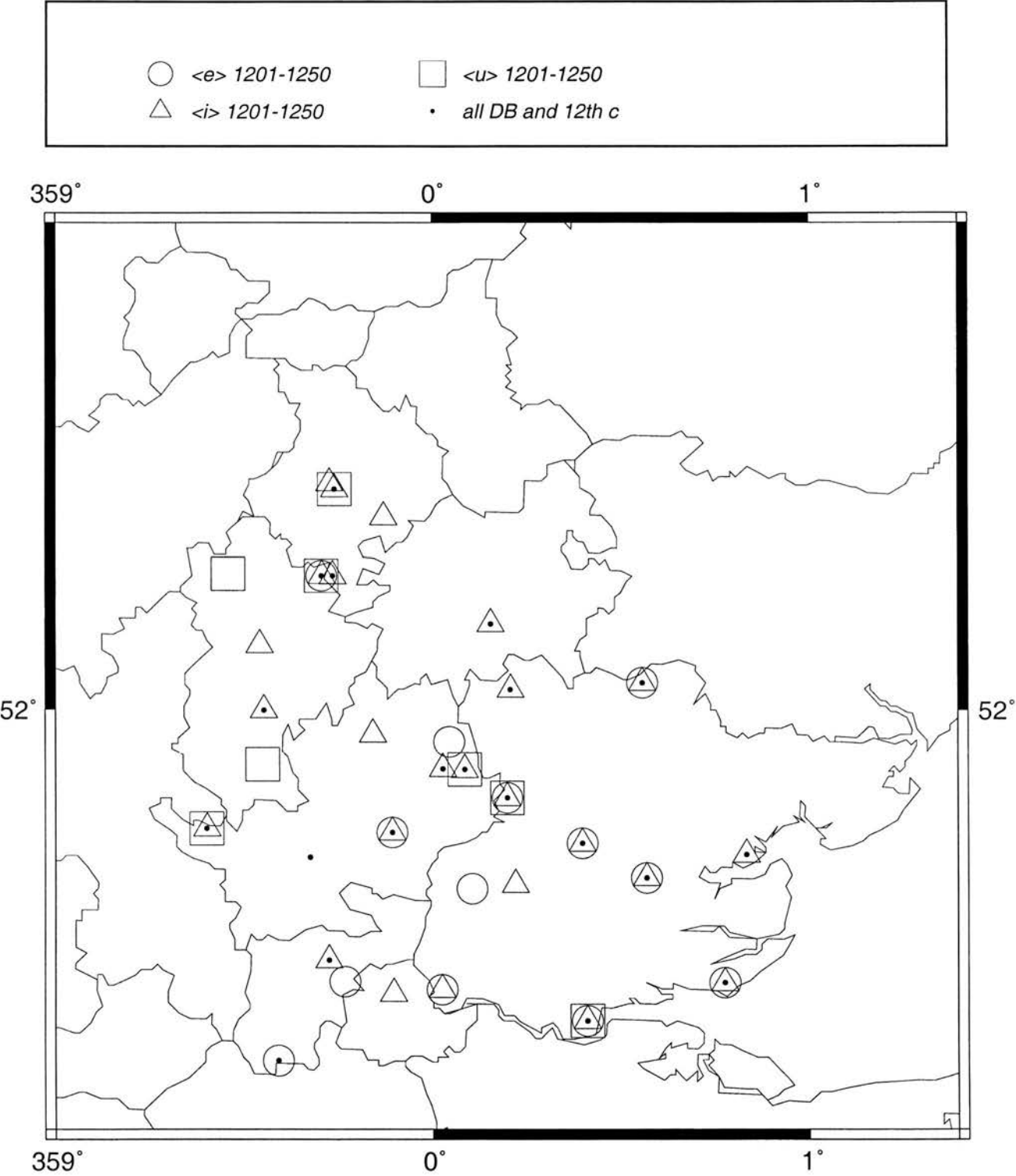
Map 23: History of -BURY (in name non-initial position) from 1100 to 1200 with DB locations and data for comparison.



Map 24: Variation in -BURY (in name non-initial position) from 1201 to 1250 with DB and 12th century locations for reference.

Two names are recorded at one location in BED and at another location in ESS; see Map 24a (p. 158) for details.

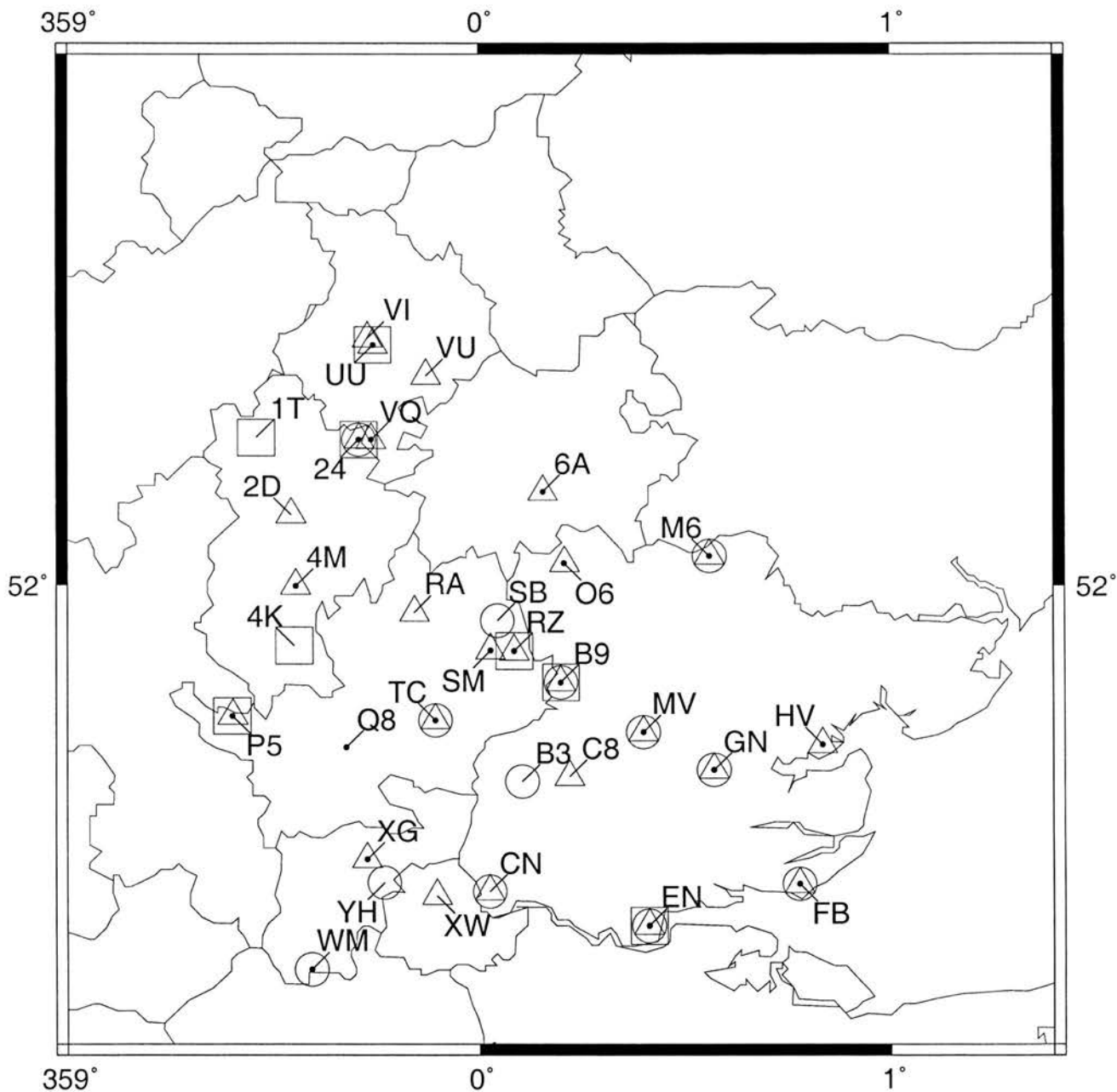
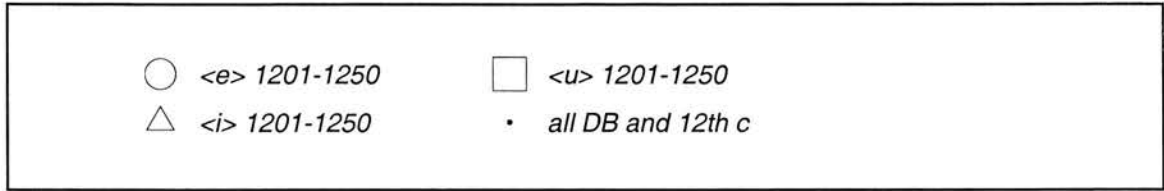
BURY- appears also in name-initial position in the name represented by VU in HUN, see Map 14 (p. 146).



Map 24a: Variation in -BURY (in name non-initial position) from 1201 to 1250 with DB and 12th century locations for reference and IDs for identification of individual place names.

Two names are recorded at location 24 in BED: SUDBURY with <i/y> and <u>, and CADBURY with <e> and <i/y>. Two names are recorded at location B9 in ESS: HALLINGBURY with <e>, <i/y> and <u>, and WALLBURY with <e> and <i/y>.

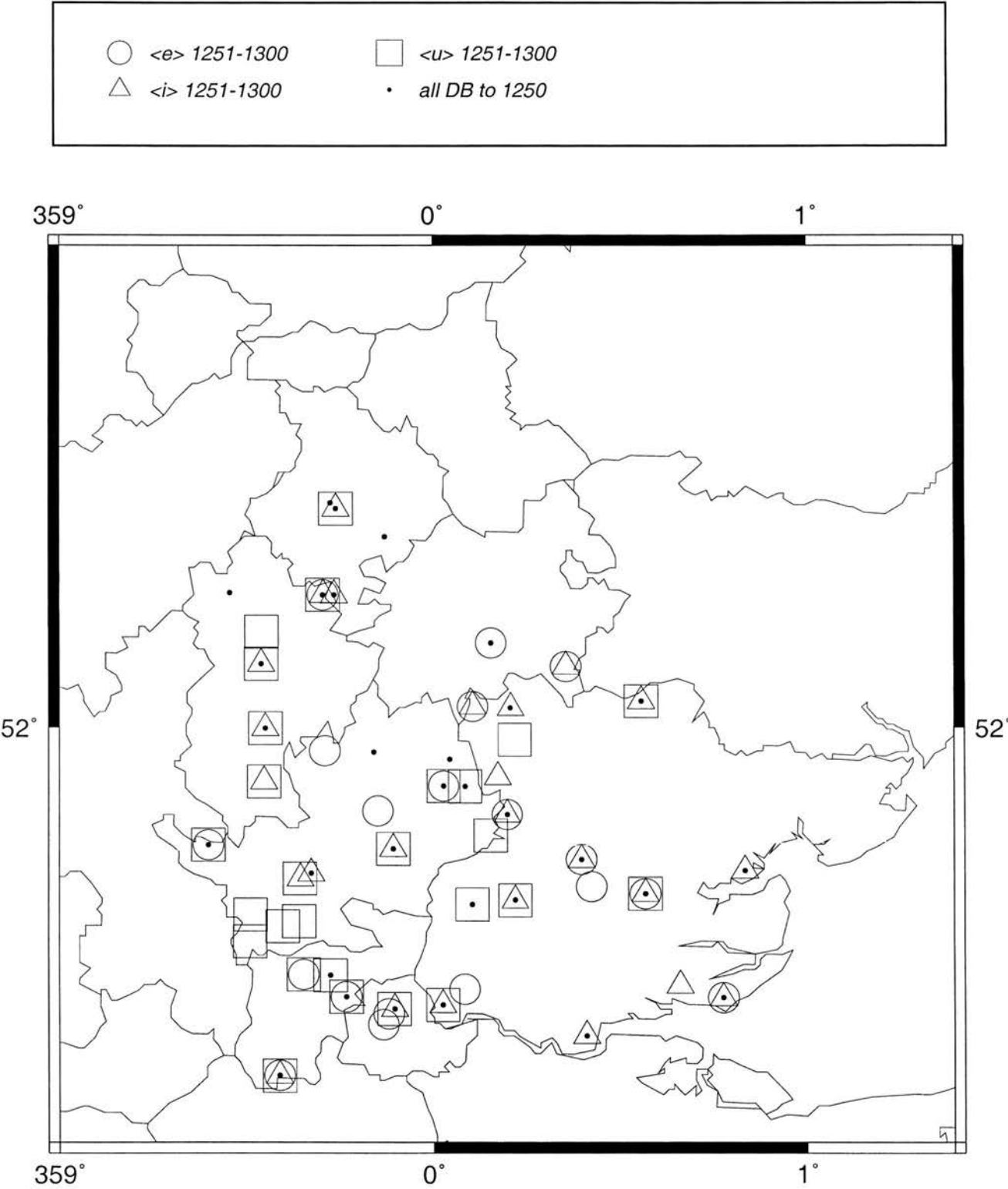
BURY- appears also in name-initial position in the name represented by VU in HUN, see Map 14 (p. 146).





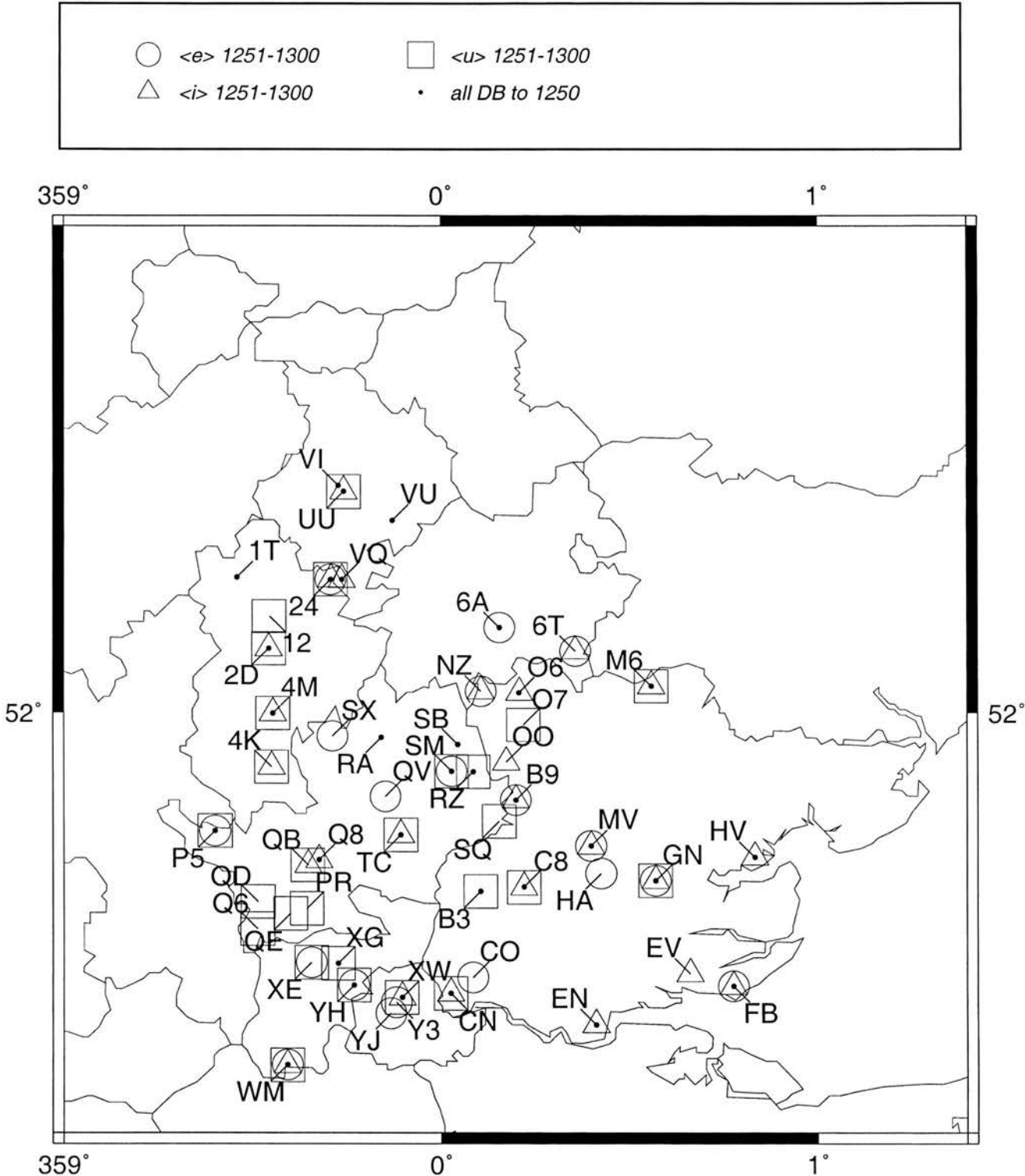
Map 25: Distribution of reflexes of -BURY (in name non-initial position) from 1251 to 1300 with locations from 1100 to 1250 (and in DB) for reference.

See Map 25a (p. 160) for location ID tags.



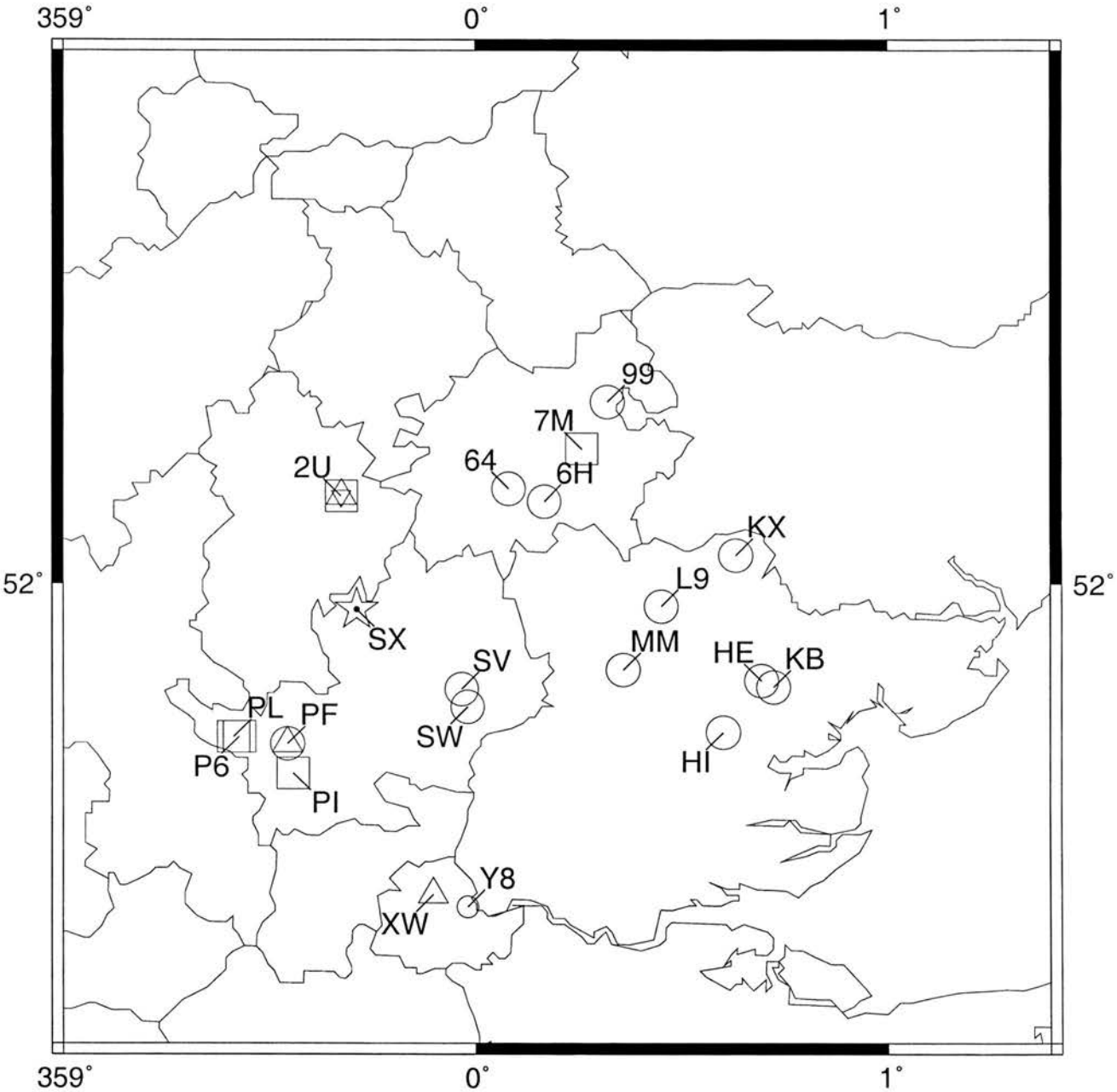
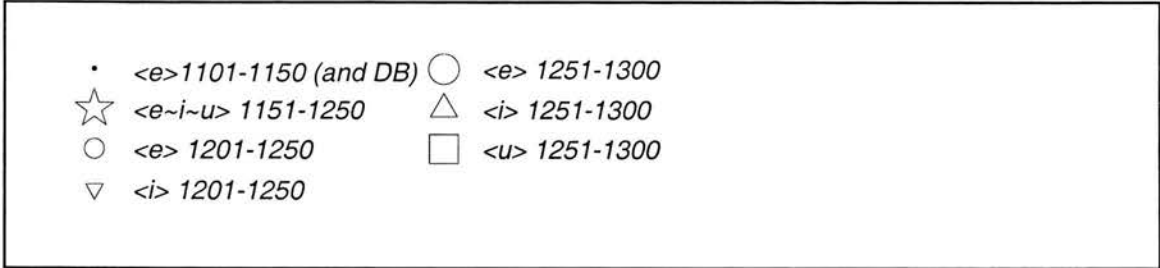
Map 25a: Distribution of reflexes of -BURY (in name non-initial position) from 1251 to 1300, with locations from 1100 to 1250 (and DB) for reference and ID tags for identification of individual place names.

Two names are recorded at 24 (in BED); SUDBURY with <i/y>, and CADBURY with <e>, <i/y> and <u>. Three names are recorded at B9 (in ESS): HALLINGBURY with <e> and <i/y>, WALLBURY with <i/y> and MONKS BURY with <e>. Two names are recorded at O6 (in ESS), LITTLEBURY and HOWE WOOD (*Lytlebirho*, a -BURY name) both with <i>. Two names are recorded at SM (in HRT): GATESBURY with <u> and CALVERY ORCHARD (*Caldeberi*, a -BURY name) with <e>. Two names are recorded at YH (in MDX): BRONDESBURY with <u> and MAPESBURY with <e> and <u>.



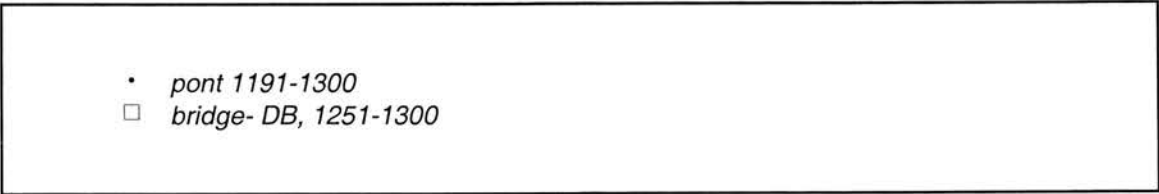
Map 26: History of -MILL (in name non-initial position) from 1100 to 1300 (with DB).

MILL- appears also in name-initial position in names represented by 2U (in BED), SX (in HRT) and HE (in ESS), see Map 15 (p. 147).



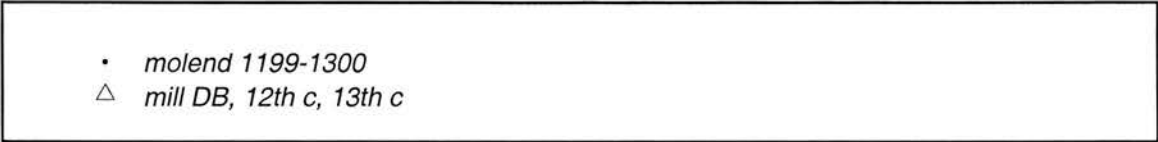
Map 27: Attestations of *BRIDGE-* and *pont-* (in name-initial position) in the 12th and 13th centuries.

There are six names with *BRIDGE-* compared to 38 with *pont-*. They are represented by 35 circles because one location in MDX, one location in ESS and one in HUN represent two place names each.



Map 28: Attestations of *MILL* and *molend* (in name-initial and non-initial position) from 1100 to 1300 (with DB).

There are 30 names with *molend* exclusively and 39 with *MILL* exclusively (three of the names appear in both name-initial and non-initial position, see Map 15 p. 147 and Map 26 p. 161). Four further names, three in CAM and one in MDX, are attested with both *MILL* and *molend*. There are 34 circles representing *molend*. One triangle with a circle in the middle in central CAM represents two names: one of the two is attested with *MILL* and *molend*, and the other one with *MILL* only, see Map 15 (p. 147). One triangle in south-western HRT represents two names, see Map 26 p. 161). Another triangle in south-western HRT represents three names, one in name-initial position, see Map 15 (p. 147), and two in name non-initial position, see Map 26 p. 161). The 43 *MILL* names are represented by 39 triangles.



### 4.3.3 Discussion

#### Items in name-initial position.

As indicated in the data tables, Table 14 (p. 127) and Table 16 (p. 132) above, there are far fewer attestations of *BRIDGE-*, *RIDGE-*, and *BURY-* in name-initial position than in name non-initial position. *MILL-* differs from the other three items by having more balanced attestations: twenty-four names are attested in name-initial position (eighteen of which are attested in the second half of the 13th century) and twenty-two in name non-initial position (twenty of which are attested in the second half of the 13th century). *BRIDGE-BURY-* and *MILL-* are discussed briefly below. *RIDGE-* in name-initial position is only attested in one name and is discussed with the developments found in *-RIDGE* in name non-initial position.

#### History of *BRIDGE-*.

Five simplex names are attested with *BRIDGE*: two are by-names, Thomas ate *Brege* (SQ), Walter ate *Bruge* (SC) and three are toponyms, *Godulves bregge* (JZ), *Stratford Brigg* (MM) and *Faresheved Brygg* (TQ). One name with *BRIDGE-* is compounded, *Briggestrate*, *Bruggestrete* (56). All six names come from the second half of the 13th century. The spelling of the vowel under investigation appears twice as <e>, once as <u>, once as <i> and once as <y>. One name is spelt with <i> and <u> interchangeably (location 56 in CAM). Three place names are found in local sources: one in Oath (JZ in ESS) and two in LSR (SQ and SC in HRT). SQ, spelt with <e>, is on the ESS border and SC spelt with <u> is in the north of the county. Two names come from undecided sources, *Stratford Brigg* in ESS (MM) with <i> from Ass, and *Bruggestrete* (56) with <u> from StJohn's. This street name in CAMBRIDGE is also recorded with <i>, *Briggestrate* in a central source, Cl. One further name, *Faresheved Brygg* in HUN (TQ), comes from a central source, RH. It is interesting that all four types of vowel spelling are used in this limited set of names. <y> is attested in one name, <i> is attested in two names (once interchangeably with <u>), <u> is attested in two names (in one name interchangeably with <i>), and <e> is also attested in two names. The distribution of names with *BRIDGE-* is shown on Map 13 (p. 145).

By contrast, there are thirty-eight names with *pont(-)* as a separate word (a simplex name) or in name-initial position, e.g.: Thomas de *ponte de Wodeford* (CS), *Pontem Tegule* or *Pontetegula* (TE). *Pont-* names also begin to appear earlier: two names come from the second half of the 12th century from HRT. Eight names are found in the first half of the 13th century, one in CAM, one in ELY, two in ESS, one in HRT, one in HUN and two in MDX; seven of them are attested for the first time in this corpus in this sub-

period and the name in HRT is first found at the end of the 12th century. It is also attested again in the second half of the 13th century. Additionally, twenty-nine names are first attested in the second half of the 13th century, four in BED, three in CAM, one in HRT, two in HUN, three in MDX and sixteen in ESS.<sup>127</sup> This brings the number of attestations to thirty in the second half of the 13th century. The distribution of names with *BRIDGE*- and *pont*- is given on Map 27 (p. 162).

*-pont* in name non-initial position appears infrequently in the corpus; two names, *Estponte* and *Northpunt*, are attested in COLCHESTER (in ESS, JZ) in the second half of the 13th century. One more name (also in ESS, BC), spelt *Lungpunt*, is also attested with *pont*- in name-initial position and with *-BRIDGE*, in name non-initial position, see Map 19a (p. 152). All the forms come from the second half of the 13th century.

Three *pont*- names that appear on Map 27 (p. 162) are also attested with *-BRIDGE* in name non-initial position in the second half of the 13th century. These are: *Wytlisfordebrige* in CAM (6I), and in ESS: *Lang(e)brig(ge)* (BC) and *Britesbrig* (JW); see Map 19a (p. 152). The interchangeable use of *BRIDGE* and *pont* found sporadically in the 13th century increases in the 14th, additionally *pont* in some names is replaced with *BRIDGE* in the 14th century. All the names that survive to the present day appear with *BRIDGE* exclusively.

Table 19: Distribution of *pont*(-) by type of sources: central, vs. local vs. undecided.

Total of	Time/Sources	Central	Local	Undecided
<i>pont</i> -	1191-1250	5	1 (or 0)	3 (or 4)
	1251-1300	12	10 (or 9)	16 (or 17)

*Pont*- appears in all three types of sources: central, local and undecided. The biggest number of tuples comes from undecided sources (also called half-central by earlier scholars): Ass, FF, Ct, BM, AddCh. Central sources, represented by RH, For, Ch, Mics, yield a number almost identical to that obtained from the undecided sources. Attestations in local sources come from CaiCh, Colch, EnclA, LSR, Takeley, WalthamA, WalthamB, and WalthamC.<sup>128</sup> Ass and FF, both series of documents issued throughout the 13th century, account for the majority of attestations not just in the category undecided but among all three categories. They are followed by two central sources, RH and For, also

127 For the 12th century HRT attestations, see EPNS XV: 209, 230 (see also EPNS XXIII, AetC: l); for attestations in the period 1201-1250, see EPNS XIX: 98, 235, EPNS XII: 111, 187 (but see EPNS XIV, AetC: lvii, EPNS XV: 230 (see also EPNS XIX, AetC: lvi), EPNS III: 205 (*pontem de Herithe* EARITH BRIDGE), EPNS XVIII: 20, 136; for attestations in the period 1251-1300, see EPNS III: 31, 33, 49, 173, 198, 205 (*album pontem* WHITE BRIDGE), EPNS XIX: 70, 100, 117, EPNS XV: 128, 230, EPNS XVIII: 77, 134, 167, EPNS XII: 41, 43, 63, 67, 80, 92, 132, 283, 291, 319, 364, 377, 451, 481, 498 and 614.

128 CaiCh and EnclA may however not be local but half-central (undecided).



appearing with various dates throughout the 13th century. Colch is a local source with three tuples: other sources in that category contribute one or two tuples only. The numbers from local sources are not low, bearing in mind that probably fewer documents were produced locally compared to numbers that originated in the offices of central administration.

Although the grouping of sources into central, local and undecided is only tentative and based on other scholars' classification, it appears that scribes use *pont* in all three types of sources. The differences in the numbers of names attested in the three categories in the table above may reflect the fact that fewer local sources were produced in the 12th and 13th centuries and fewer have survived to the present day compared to central and undecided sources. This is a tentative conclusion only, as the categorisation of sources and linguistic characteristics of individual sources need to be investigated further.

### **History of BURY-**

Etymologically BURY derives from the genitive/dative form of OE *burgh* “fortified place/town”: the ancestor form of BURY, *byrig*, had /y/ or /e/ in Old English. From the time of DB, BURY underwent extension of meaning to denote a manor, often “compounded with the name of a medieval holder” (EPNS XV: 243). The meaning of stronghold continues, and in some names the two meanings overlap, e.g.: “king's manor or stronghold” or “the king's defensible house”. In the course of Middle English, BURY is also added to existing parish names and used in compounds with descriptive elements, e.g.: old, new, east or west (EPNS XII: 565). The manorial use of BURY is a regional development in the south-east of England, most noticeable in ESS, MDX and HRT among the counties examined here. It is commented on as far back as the seventeenth century by Fuller, who notices a fair “*Bunch of Berries*” for what in other counties are called “*Places, Courts, Halls and Mannors*”.<sup>129</sup>

BURY- is recorded in fifteen names in name-initial position. The earliest attestations come from central sources at the turn of the 12th century, one with <e> Richard *de la Bere* in ESS (E9), from Cur, and another one with <u> *Burstan*, *Burston(e)* in HRT (QB), from Ch. Two names are recorded in the first half of the 13th century, one with <i> *birigwode* in ESS (GX), found in a charter from CottCh, and one with <u> William *de Burgo* in CAM (6H) from a central source, Cl.

BURY- names attested in the second half of the 13th century, thirteen names in total, make an interesting set because all the tuples come from local or undecided sources. They

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<sup>129</sup> Fuller 1662, *Worthies of England*, quoted in EPNS XV: 243.

record BURY- with <e>, <i/y> and <u>. Three names in ESS are from one local document, Waltham. *Le Bery* and *Walter de Bery* (BJ and B6) are spelt with <e> exclusively, and *del Biry*, *ate Bery* (B5) with <e> and <i> interchangeably.<sup>130</sup> *del Biry* and *ate Bery* are also attested in Ct, an undecided source. The fourth name in ESS is spelt with <u>, *Burimore* (E9), in a local document, AD; its previous attestation with <e> comes from a central source, Cur (dated to 1200). Attestations for three out of four names in HRT come from LSRs, two with <e> and one with <u>. *Berston* 1296 LSR (QB) in south-west HRT (previously attested with <u>), *Berton(e)* 1294, 1296 LSR (OS) in the north, on BED border, and *William de Bury* 1294 LSR (T9), in the south-east, on ESS border. *Berton(e)* is also found in Ass, an undecided source. One of the two names in HUN (VU), *Lytle Biryhill* is attested with <i> in another local source, AD; this name also appears with -BURY (spelt with <i/y>) in name non-initial position in the first half of the 13th century, see Map 24 (p. 157).<sup>131</sup> The attestations in undecided sources appear as follows: <e> in *Berifel* (Rental) in MDX (XD), <i/y> in *Alice de Byry* (Ass) in CAM (location 5F) and in *Biria*, *Birig*, *Byrig*, *Biri*, *Biry*, *Byri* (in the sources BM and Ct) in HUN (U9), <u> in *Burmilne* (in the source VCH) in HRT (PF) and in *Buridene* (in the source FF) in BED (3V). All four graphs are employed in the BURY- names above in the sources which in the general opinion of dialectologists are more likely to reflect the local usage than the usage of central bureaucracy found in central sources.

Map 14 (p. 146) shows the history and distribution of the vowel graphs in BURY-. The distributions seem to form a pattern, not in the sense of discrete exclusive zones of either <e> or <i> or <u>, but a tendency influenced by the history of the OE /y(:)/ in this area can be seen. The names with <e> are distributed in the southern half of the area, in south and west ESS, MDX on the HRT border and in southern HRT. Two <u> names are located in the west of the area examined, one in west HRT and the other one in south-west BED. <i> names appear in the north of the area, in east HUN and south-west CAM. The names out of place, so to speak, e.g. <i> in southern ESS, <u> in east HRT, on the ESS border away from the other two <u> names, or <e> in north HRT, on the BED border are a reminder that real data is complex. Within a continuum of overlapping distributions of variants (Benskin 1994) there are sometimes apparent or real discontinuities.

<sup>130</sup> It is possible that these attestations come from the first half of the 13th century as the dating of the source Waltham is not precise, being assigned a range of dates 1216-1272, corresponding to the regnal years of Henry III.

<sup>131</sup> All three elements in *Lytle Biryhill* (VU) attest OE /y(:)/: their spelling here in a local source seems to point to unrounding to /i(:)/.

### History of MILL-.

Three MILL- names occur in the second half of the 12th century. Two are found in BED, spelt with <e> and <u>, *Melnho*, *Mul(e)nho*, *Melho* (MILLOW, 35) recorded in charters, possibly local documents (KCD 813, HarlCh 83 B 39, HarlCh 83 A 47) and *Melebroc* (MILLBROOK, 2K), with <e>, in an undecided source (Templars). Both names are also attested with <e> in DB. The third name, spelt with <u>, *Mulnefeld* (PF) in south-west HRT, comes from a charter in a cartulary (Miss). The two early BED names (35 and 2K) occur again in both halves of the 13th century. They are among eight names attested in the first half of the 13th century. Both appear with the interchangeable spellings <e>, <i> and <u>. MILLBROOK appears with <u> *Mulebrok* in LS (LSR), a local source, with <e> and <i> in an undecided source, Ass (dated to different years): *Millbrook* 1227 Ass, *Melebrok(e)* 1247 Ass. MILLOW is attested with <e> and <u> in Ass and FF (dated to different years), both undecided sources: *Melnho* 1202 Ass, FF, 1247 Ass, *Mulho* 1204 FF, 1227 Ass, *Miln(e)ho* 1247 Ass. Additionally, <i> spelling *Milcho* comes from a central source, Cur.

Ass is an interesting source because MILL- is attested in it with <i>, <e> and <u> in the two BED names above. Both MILLBROOK and MILLOW are found in Ass at two dates, 1227 and 1247: *Millbrook* and *Mulho* in 1227, and *Melebrok(e)* and *Miln(e)ho* in 1247. Further work, such as a study of the writing style in the Ass manuscripts, if they are extant, would help determine whether the variable spellings come from one hand or from diverse hands. If the spellings had been recorded in one hand, we could have further evidence for the use of Litteral Substitution Sets (LSS) or equivalent graphs in the recording of early Middle English place names similar to those found in manuscripts.<sup>132</sup>

The remaining six names found in the period 1201-1250 are first attested in name-initial position in the first half of the 13th century. All six come from undecided sources. Five are attested in FF, each at a different date. Two are spelt with <i> *mill called Wapping in Stebbehey* (YC in MDX) and Geoffrey the *miller* (N1 in ESS). Three names found in FF are spelt with <e> *West Melne* (SX in HRT), *la Melweie* (T5 in HRT) and *le Melnefeld* (M4 in ESS). The sixth name appears with <u> *South Mulne* (2U in BED) in another undecided source, Ipm. The names attested in HRT (SX) and in BED (2U) also appear in name non-initial position, see Map 26 (p. 161) and Table 18 (p. 138). 2U (in BED) is the only name from this group of six that is also attested later, in the second half of the 13th century, see Map 15 (p. 147) and Table 15 (p. 130).

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<sup>132</sup> See the discussion of the variation found in STONE- on p. 102 (and ff.) above and in -BRIDGE and -BURY on p. 184 (and ff.) below.

Eighteen MILL- names are attested in the second half of the 13th century. Three appear also earlier in the corpus (35, 2K and 2U) and fifteen are attested for the first time in this sub-period. All four vowel graphs <e>, <i/y> and <u>, either exclusively or interchangeably, are recorded in the data. The attestations in ESS and CAM are spelt with <e> and <i/y> interchangeably or exclusively. Six names in ESS are spelt with <e> exclusively: BJ, EQ, MN, IV, L1 and L6 in a variety of undecided and central sources. Each name is attested only once in the period 1251-1300. Although these names are most likely minor names (they all are field names),<sup>133</sup> they all are spelt with *mill* in PDE. One further name is spelt with <e> and <y> interchangeably: *Melle*, *Myll* (HE) attested in FF, dated to the same year (1261).<sup>134</sup> Two ESS names are attested with <i> exclusively: *mill of Wluesdon* (GK) recorded in Ass, and *Milnefeld* (NJ) in Queens. The CAM names are: *Melnewarde* recorded in Ass, and *Milnestrate*, *Melnestrete*, <i> found in a local source, Barnwell, <e> found in an undecided source, FF (both names are in CAMBRIDGE, 56).

Apart from the names with <e> in ESS discussed above, three more names appear with <e> exclusively in local or undecided sources, one in MDX (XL) *Melcroft*, *Melflet*, found in AD, a local source, and two in HRT *le Melne Eyte* (Q6) from a charter in a cartulary, StAlbansO, and *le Melnende* (RV), from an undecided source, StPauls. Another name attested in HRT (RJ) appears with <u> *le Mulnestrat* in WDB, an undecided source. One more name with <u> exclusively is found in BED *Suth Mulne* (2U), in FF; the name is also attested with -MILL in non-initial position again, see Map 26 (p. 161).

Finally, there are MILLOW (35) and MILLBROOK (2K), the two names in BED with a rich history of attestations in the second half of the 12th century and the first half of the 13th. In the second half of the 13th century, MILLOW is attested again with the interchangeable spellings <e>, <i> and <u>, *Melinho*, *Miln(e)ho*, *Mul(e)nho*: all three forms are found in Ass, dated twice to the same years, 1276 and 1287. There is another attestation with <i> *Milho*, in Ass 1276. One further form, with <e> *Melho*, was also found in a central source, Ch. MILLBROOK has one attestation with <u> *Mulebrok*, from a local source, FA. The name is also attested with <e> and <u> *Melebrok(e)* and *Mulebrok* twice in Ass (1276 and 1287). Further forms with <e> come from other undecided sources: Ipm (spelling *Melebroc*), and Tax (spelling *Melabroc*), as well as from two central sources: Abbr and Ch (spelling *Melebrok(e)*). There are two more attestations of <u>, one *Mulbrok(e)* in an undecided source NI, and the other one *Mulebrok* in Ch, a central source. Additionally, spelling with <o> is also attested in

<sup>133</sup> These names come from an additional appendix of field names (EPNS XII: 601-649), see Footnote 124 p. 126 above for details.

<sup>134</sup> The name also appears with -MILL in non-initial position *Poyntel(le)melne* in the same source with the same date: 1261 FF.

MILLBROOK: *Molebroke*, in two central sources, Ch and Cl, most likely due to the influence of the Latin form of the word: *molinum* (*molend*), which also appears in the data, see below. As can be seen from the examples above, Ass again attests both names, MILLOW with <e>, <i> and <u> and MILLBROOK with <e> and <u>, both in 1276 and 1287 in addition to their attestations in Ass 1227 and 1247, discussed above.

The distribution on Map 15 (p. 147) shows <u>, either exclusively or interchangeably, in names in the west, in BED, and south-west and north-west HRT, <e> exclusively is found in MDX and HRT; whereas ESS and CAM have <e> and <i> exclusively or interchangeably.<sup>135</sup> The two names in BED with attestations covering over 150 years appear with <e>, <i> and <u> (and even with <o>) interchangeably, in a variety of sources, predominantly undecided ones. All the place names that maintain the item -MILL in PDE are spelt with the modernised form *mill*.

The numbers of place names with MILL are surprisingly low compared to the numbers recorded in DB in these counties (Darby 1971, Darby and Campbell 1962).<sup>136</sup> The search for the Latin form of the word in the corpus partly explains why. There are thirty MILL place names with *molend*<sup>137</sup> exclusively, all the attestations appear uncompounded often as part of a longer name, either preceded or followed by other elements, e.g.: *Pinch molendinum* (in BED), or *molendinum de Halk* (in ESS). Further four names were found with MILL and *molend* interchangeably, three in CAM and one in MDX, see Map 28 (p. 163). So disappointingly for early Middle English dialectology, we cannot make use of a large quantity of the MILL data. The use of the Latin word may however be potentially interesting for socio-linguistic or stylistic research.

The numbers of *molend* follow the general pattern of the increase of data with time. Two *molend* names are found in the second half of the 12th century: one in BED and one in ESS. The first half of the 13th century attests six names: two in HRT and four in ESS. Twenty-three names with *molend* come from the second half of the 13th century. Two are attested in BED, ten in CAM and one in ELY, seven in ESS, two in HRT and one in

135 Two names in CAM: *Melbourn* and *Meldreth*, EPNS XIX: 58, 60, are not included in the corpus due to uncertain etymology. Cf. Kristensson (1995: 65), who follows Ekwall (1960), and treats *Meldreth* as a MILL- name.

136 (Darby 1971: 248-250 ESS, 307-309 CAM and ELY, 344-346 HUN; Darby and Campbell 1962: 39-41 BED, 83-85 HRT, 129-131 MDX.)

137 The word subsumes also *molendin*, *molendino*, *molendinum*, *molendina*, *molendinorum*, etc.



MDX.<sup>138</sup> Map 28 (p. 163) shows the distribution of names with *molend*, MILL names are added for comparison.

Like the names with *pont* above, *molend* is attested in all three types of sources. The numbers are lower in the local sources than in the undecided or the central ones, as is the case with *pont* and indeed all the items under investigation here. The local sources include Caen, Colch, TA and Walden, the undecided sources comprise Ass, Ct, Fees, FF, Ipm and Works, the central sources include Abbr, Cur, and RH.<sup>139</sup> The largest number, eleven names are found in RH: eight of them come from CAM, all dated to the same year, 1279.

All the names found with *molend* in the corpus that survive to the present day appear now with MILL exclusively. The replacement of *molend* by MILL may have begun already in the 13th century, as indicated by the interchangeable use of MILL and *molend* in some names mentioned above. Most of the names with *molend* in the 13th century appear already exclusively with MILL in the 14th century.

#### **Items in name non-initial position.**

BRIDGE, RIDGE and BURY are among habitative and topographical place-name elements that function in the generic way and appear predominantly as second elements of compounds. MILL is found in similar numbers of names in name-initial and non-initial position; it is recorded in both descriptive and generic function in this corpus.

#### **History of -BRIDGE.**

The increase in the numbers of names with -BRIDGE in each fifty-year sub-period is given on Map 16 (p. 148). It corresponds to the totals obtained by adding up the number of attestations in each sub-period in Table 17 (p. 134). The map also shows how many names continue from one period to another, which the table does not. The table gives the numbers attested in each county, whereas the map shows the distribution of these names. One aids the other to reconstruct the picture of early Middle English language continuum in the area examined. The details of variation in each sub-period appear on four further maps: Map 17 (p. 149), Map 18 (p. 150), Map 19 (p. 151) and Map 19a (p. 152) and the history of the vowel spelling of each name can be found in Table 18 (p. 138).

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138 For the 12th century attestations, see EPNS III: 41 and EPNS XII: 422; for attestations in the period 1201-1250, see EPNS XII: 51, 134, 319, 528 and EPNS XV: 56, 233; for attestations in the period 1251-1300, see EPNS III: 24, 32, EPNS XIX: 72, 86, 87, 90, 98, 101, 110, 139, 144, 191, 242, EPNS XII: 20, 70, 297, 299, 345, 536, 641 EPNS XV: 13, 152 and EPNS XVIII: 107.

139 RH is classified as half-central by Carlsson (1989).

-BRIDGE is attested with high proportions of <i> from 1100 to 1300. <i> and <u>, exclusively or interchangeably, are attested in DB in CAM, ESS and HUN. <i> and <y> are attested interchangeably in one name in the first half of the 12th century in CAM in ASC, additionally <u> is attested in two names in MDX. With the increase of numbers of names there is increase of variation in the second half of the 12th century. <e>, <i> and <u> occur exclusively or interchangeably in the thirteen names attested in this sub-period. <i> is the most frequently occurring graph: it is attested in nine names. It appears in three names exclusively (FZ, HM and TY), in two names interchangeably with <e> (56<sup>140</sup> and HQ), in three names interchangeably with <u> (56,<sup>141</sup> QC and XB) and in one name interchangeably with both <e> and <u> (FU). <e> exclusively appears in two names (GU and HT) and <u> exclusively is attested in one name (FF). The names with <e> and <u> exclusively are located in ESS. One name in BED is recorded with <e> and <u> interchangeably (location 41). The distribution of the names and the vowels attested in DB and in the 12th century are given on Map 17 (p. 149).

The names are attested mostly in central or undecided sources. One name with <e> in ESS, HEYBRIDGE (HT), comes from a local source, Gervase. Table 20 below shows how many names are attested with each vowel in different types of sources. Some names are attested in several sources. The sources are listed below the numbers, with the names of counties in which they are attested in brackets.

Table 20: Distribution of -BRIDGE by type of sources: central, vs. local vs. undecided in 1151-1200.

Central			Local		Undecided		
e	i	u	e	u	e	i/y	u
2	5	2	1	1	3	8	6
P (CAM, ESS)	Cur/CurR (ESS, CAM, MDX), P (CAM, MDX)	Cur (MDX), P (BED)	Gervase (ESS)	Basset (MDX)	FF (BED, ESS), LibEl (ESS),	ASC (E) (CAM) FF (CAM, HUN), HMC (HRT), LibEl (CAM), RotDom (ESS) StJohn (ESS), Templars (ESS),	Dugd (HRT), FF (ESS), France (CAM) KCD (ESS), LibEl (ESS), Ord (CAM),

There is a great deal of variation in the second half of the 12th century. Several sources record more than one way of spelling -BRIDGE; in some cases, more than one variant is

140 STOURBRIDGE COMMON, one of the two names attested in this parish.

141 CAMBRIDGE, the second name attested in this parish.



found in one name in one source. Likewise, one name can be recorded with different vowels in a variety of sources. For example, <i> is found in CAM (56, STOURBRIDGE) in CurR (1199) and in ESS (HQ) in Cur (1198), both central sources. Cur records -BRIDGE with <i> and <u> in a MDX name (XB) both in the same year, 1198 (the year of the ESS record with <i> too). LibEl, an undecided source, records a name in CAM (56, CAMBRIDGE) with <i/y> and another name in ESS (FU) with the interchangeable spelling <e> and <u>.

Some tendencies emerge: for example, P attests -BRIDGE with <u> in BED, with <e> and <i> in CAM and <e> ESS. <e> is a normal way of spelling words with OE /y/ in ESS and in southern parts of CAM. <i> represents /i/, resulting from the unrounding of /y/ in early Middle English which could reach CAM by the second half of the 12th century. <u> is a new way of spelling /y/ in early Middle English in the south-west, west and central Midlands and could reach as far east as BED. On the other hand, the name with <e> in CAM (56, STOURBRIDGE) appears also with <i> in another central source, CurR. The name in ESS appears with <i> in Cur, also a central source and in Templars, an undecided source. The name recorded in BED (41) with <u> in P, appears also with <e>, in FF, an undecided source. FF in fact attests all three vowels in this sub-period, <e> in BED and ESS, <i> in CAM and HUN and <u> in ESS.

It is not possible to establish whether each graph represents a different sound. The evidence may point that way in cases of names recorded only once. The interchangeable use of more than one graph in one name, such as <i> and <u> in UXBRIDGE (XB) in Cur, or <e> and <u> in FAMBRIDGE (FU), in LibEl, pose a problem. Also difficult to interpret is the use of <e> and <i> in P, classified as a central source, or <e>, <i> and <u> in FF, an undecided source. It is possible that some scribes/copyists were familiar with all the available forms of spelling of a word regardless of its phonetic value in a particular word, or that some of the scribes were literatim copyists and copied faithfully what they read in the source, which could have different spellings for one word (written in one hand or in different hands). Our notions about the different kinds of language manifested in different types of sources in early Middle English are in need of revising and/or verifying. These are however general questions, more suitable to general discussion sections. The variation attested in -BRIDGE in the second half of the 12th century most likely indicates that the system is undergoing a change. This is noticeable by comparing Map 17 (p. 149) to Map 18 (p. 150) which shows different variation in -BRIDGE in the following sub-period, the first half of the 13th century.

Map 18 (p. 150) and Table 17 (p. 134) show an increase of the amount of -BRIDGE data from the second half of the 12th century to the first half of the 13th. The most frequent variants found are <i> exclusively and <i> and <u> interchangeably. They occur both in the east, in ESS and in the west, in BED and HUN. <u> exclusively is found in one name in ESS. <e> exclusively is present in ESS and MDX, <e> interchangeably with <i> and <u> appears in CAM and MDX. There are changes in spelling in the nine names that continue from the second half of the 12th century to the first half of the 13th; they can be traced by comparing Map 17 (p. 149) and Map 18 (p. 150) with further help from Table 18 (p. 138).

The attestations in the first half of the 13th century come from all three types of sources: central, local and undecided; the last group contributes the biggest number of tuples, as is generally the case in this corpus. Table 21 below indicates the numbers of names attested with different vowels in each group with the sources listed underneath the vowels: the names of the counties from which names are found in particular sources are given in brackets after each source.

Table 21: Distribution of -BRIDGE by type of sources: central, vs. local vs. undecided in 1201-1250.

Central			Local			Undecided		
e	i	u	e	i	u	e	i	u
1	7	3	3	3	1	1	12	9
P (ESS)	Cur (MDX), P (CAM, HRT), Pat (ESS)	P (MDX), RBE (ESS)	HPD (ESS), StPaulsCh (MDX)	AD (CAM) ElyCh, (ELY), Thorney (ELY)	LSR (BED)	StP (ESS)	Ass (BED, ESS, MDX), Fees (HUN), FF (ESS, HUN, MDX)	Ass (BED, HUN), Fees (BED, HUN), FF (ESS, MDX)

Seven names are most likely attested in local sources, XB and XQ in MDX, with <e> in StPaulsCh, and 41 in BED with <u> in LSR. YJ in MDX (ST MARY le STRAND, spelling *Ulebrigg*) appears with <i> in Westlake, CV in ESS is recorded with <e> in HPD, 7Q in CAM has the spelling <i> in AD and AY in ELY is attested with <i> in ElyCh and in Thorney. XB and 41 are also attested with <i> and <u> in other sources.

There are several examples of the interchangeable spelling in one name, attested either in one source or in several sources. For example, FU and XB have <i> and <u> recorded in FF, 41 has <i> and <u> recorded in Ass, TY has <i> and <u> recorded in Fees. FF has <i> recorded in Ass and in P, and <u> recorded in FF, 41 has <u> in Fees in addition to the interchangeable <i> and <u> spelling in Ass, TY has <u> in Ass in addition to the interchangeable <i> and <u> spelling in Fees, XB has <u> in P and Cl and <i> in Ass and Cur in addition to <i> and <u> in FF. As the above examples show, one source can record -BRIDGE with interchangeable spellings: in addition to <i> and <u> attested in Ass, Fees and FF, <e>, <i> and <u> are found in P. The interchangeable spellings found in one name or in one source make the interpretation of the vowel graphs difficult, as has been indicated above in the discussion of the data found in the second half of the 12th century. Further observations are made in the general remarks below.

The comparison of Map 18 (p. 150) with Map 19 (p. 151) shows a further change in spelling in -BRIDGE from the first half of the 13th century to the second half. <u> is the least frequent spelling type, the number of names with <e> is noticeably higher; however there are nearly twice as many names with <i> than with <e>. Eleven names out of eighteen spelt exclusively with <i/y> appear for the first time in this corpus in this sub-period. They most likely represent a new stratum of language, with <i> being the normal way of spelling the vowel in -BRIDGE in the 13th century, after the operation of the unrounding. However, nine names out of ten spelt exclusively with <e> also appear for the first time in this corpus in this sub-period. Six of them are found in ESS alongside six new names attested exclusively with <i> there.

An examination of the sources of particular graphs may help explain the situation. Table 22 below shows the numbers of names attested with different vowels in each type of sources: central, local and undecided. The numbers in the table are higher than the numbers of names found in Table 17 (p. 134) and on Map 19 (p. 151) because many names are recorded in more than one source.

Table 22: Distribution of -BRIDGE by type of sources: central, vs. local vs. undecided in 1251-1300.

Central			Local		Undecided		
e	i	u	e	i	e	i	u
1	10	1	7	4	10	25	10

Central			Local		Undecided		
RH (ESS)	Abbr (ESS), Ch (ESS), Cl (HUN), For (ESS), Pat (ESS, MDX), RH (CAM, ESS, HUN)	Ch (MDX)	AD (ESS), Paper (ESS), RecStBarts (MDX), WalthamA (ESS), WalthamC (ESS),	Barnwell (CAM), ElyCouch (ELY), FA (BED), Paper (ESS)	Ass (BED, CAM, ESS, HRT), Ct (ESS), FF (ESS), Tax (ESS)	AddCh (ESS), Ass (BED, CAM, ESS, HRT, MDX, HUN), FF (ESS, HUN), HMC (ESS), Ipm (HUN), StJohn (ESS), StP (ESS), WDB (MDX)	Ass (BED, CAM, ELY, ESS), BM (MDX), Coroner (HUN), Ipm (BED), StP (ESS)

Local sources provide data for five -BRIDGE names first attested in the corpus in the second half of the 13th century and spelt exclusively with <e>. ESS names: CB and DI come from WalthamC, O2 from AD, JS from WalthamA. XW (in MDX) is attested in RecStBarts. One further name, FZ (first attested in the second half of the 12th century with <i> in an undecided source) has the spelling with <e> recorded in a local source (AD v) in the second half of the 13th century. It is not surprising that these sources maintain traditional local spelling, possibly reflecting local pronunciation of the names in the 13th century. Four remaining names with <e> that are first attested in the period 1251-1300 are found in undecided sources, H6 (in ESS) appears in Ct, IJ (in ESS), TB (in HRT) and 4Y (in BED) are all attested in Ass.

Attestations of the -BRIDGE names that first appear in the corpus in the second half of the 13th century, with <i> exclusively in ESS, are found mostly in undecided sources. BC comes from AddCh and FF, G3 and JW from Ass, H2 from HMC and StJohn, HA from For. HA is also recorded once in a central source RH. This may indicate that the new way of spelling, with <i>, and new pronunciation, is first used in non-local sources recording ESS names. In the same period, in ELY (A7), a local source ElyCouch records a name with <i>: another such example is found in BED (41), in the source FA.

Thirteen names with -BRIDGE have the item spelt as a separate word in PDE. Additionally, -BRIDGE appears in standard form *bridge* in all the place names that preserve that item in PDE.

## History of RIDGE.

RIDGE is attested in twelve names from 1100 to 1300, in one name in name-initial position, and in eleven names in name non-initial position. It is only attested in HRT and the border areas of the adjacent counties, BED to the west and ESS to the east, an area of numerous ridges, uplands and valley slopes.

The name attested with RIDGE- in initial position appears in both halves of the 13th century, spelt with <e> and <i> in the first half, *la Rigge*, *la Regge*, and with <u> in the second half, *(la) Rugge*. All the attestations come from undecided sources: <e> and <i> are attested in FF, dated to the same year, 1248, <e> exclusively is also attested in WAM, <u> exclusively is attested in Ass and Tax. Map 13 (p. 145) shows the location of the name, in south-east HRT.

Two names with -RIDGE in name non-initial position are found in DB, spelt with <i>, *Sandrige* (QC) and *Wenrige* (Q9): both are attested again before 1300. Five names are attested in the second half of the 12th century, two with <e>: *Taderege* (RG in HRT) and *Curegge* (4L in BED). The name attested in BED probably comes from a local source, Whet, and the name in HRT from an undecided source, LibEl. One name is recorded with <e> and <i> interchangeably: *Winrigge*, *Winregge* (Q9 in HRT). The spellings come from central sources, <i> from P and <e> from CR; the two documents may be related: CR is the Chancellor's Copy of P, the Pipe Rolls. Another name is spelt with <i>: *Langerige* (B5 in ESS), attested in a local source, Waltham. One other name is recorded with <u>: *Assherugge* (PD in HRT), the spelling comes from another local source, Miss.<sup>142</sup>

Seven -RIDGE names are attested in the first half of the 13th century: three of them continue from the previous period. All three undergo changes in spelling since the previous attestations. The spelling in 4L changes from <e> to <u> *Kuruge*, in FF, and *Curruge*, in Ass. The spelling in Q9 changes from <e> and <i> to <u> *Wenrug(ge)*, *Wanrugge* in Bracton, an undecided source: *Wenrug(ge)* is also found in a central source, Pat. The spelling in RG changes from <e> to <i> *Taterige* in FF. The four names that appear for the first time in the corpus in this sub-period are attested with <i> exclusively or <i> and <u> interchangeably. Two new names appear with <i> in east HRT, *Tozriche* (sic) (SV, THUNDRIDGE) in an undecided source, France and *Pukerich* (SR, PUCKERIDGE) in a central source, Cur. Two names are found with <i> and <u> interchangeably, one in north-west HRT, *Ramrugg*, *Ramrigge* (OZ), in Ass, each spelling

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142 A name with MILL- *Mulnefeld*, discussed above, is also spelt with <u> in Miss. The two names are located close to each other in western HRT.

dated to different years, and the other one (40) in south-east BED, *Puderig* in Cur, a central source, and *Pudderigge* in Ass, *Puderugge*, *Pudderug'* in FF, each attestation at a different date. The distribution of the names with -RIDGE up to 1250 is shown on Map 20 (p. 153).

The difference between the first half and the second half of the 13th century is striking: see Map 20 (p. 153) and Map 21 (p. 154) and Table 17 (p. 134). Ten names out of eleven are attested with <u>, either exclusively or interchangeably with <e> or <i>, or both, in the second half of the 13th century. The seven names attested in the first half of the 13th century continue in the second half. Q9 remains unchanged, with the spelling <u>, *Wyndrug(ge)* Gesta, possibly a local document.<sup>143</sup> SR changes from <i> to <u>: *Pucherugge* found in a local source SR (LSR). 4O and OZ change from <u> and <i> interchangeably to <u> exclusively: 4O *Ramerugge* is attested in AD and SR (LSR), both local documents, OZ *Puterugge* comes from Ass, an undecided source.

Four names are attested with the interchangeable <u> and <i> spellings:

SV *Tunrich* in Val, *Tunrigge* in Ass, *Thonrugge* in Ass (different date), *Thunrugge* in Ipm: all the sources are undecided. One tuple with <u> was found in a central source: *Thanrugge* 1277 Ch.<sup>144</sup>

QC [*Sand-*]-*ru(g)ge*, *-rigge*, *Sanderig'* in Ass, also attested with <i> earlier in DB.

PD [*Asshe-*] *-rigge*, *-rudge*, and *Ashe-*, *Esserugge* in central sources, Ch and Pat, previously attested with <u> in the second half of the 12th century.

4L *Courigge* Ass, *Courugg(e)* SR (LSR), Ipm, previously spelt with <u> exclusively in the first half of the 13th century and with <e> exclusively in the second half of the 12th century.

One name (B5 in ESS) appears with <e> and <u> interchangeably. <e> is found in an undecided source, Ct, *Langregg'*, *Langregesgrove*, and <e> and <u> interchangeably [*Lang-*] *-regg(e)*, *-rugg'* appears in Waltham, a local source; the earlier attestation, with <i> comes from the second half of the 12th century from the same source, Waltham. RG has the interchangeable spelling <e>, <i> and <u> recorded in one tuple: [*Tate-*] *-rugge*, *-regge*, *-riche*, *-reche* 1254 Val, an undecided source.<sup>145</sup> Another form with <i> *Tatterigg* is also recorded in a central source, Ch. QW, the only name that is not attested with <u>.

143 <i/y> and <e> are found in forms with the second element spelt *-ryng*, *-reng*: *Wyndryng* 1279 FF, *Wynryng* 1279 FF, *Wenreng* 1287 Ass, *Wynryng* 1294 SR and earlier, *Winringe* t. John Dugd ii, *Wenringe* 1198 FF. These forms are accompanied by a note: "we must take the form with a second *n* as irregular" EPNS XV: 92.

144 Two forms with *n* are recorded in the history of the name, *Tonrinch* 1086 DB, *Thunrungge* 1293 Ipm "the forms with a second *n* are curious, but cf. Windridge supra 92" EPNS XV: 205.

145 A form with *n* *-ringg'* is also recorded in 1254 Val.



appears with <e> and <i> interchangeably. <e> comes from undecided sources, *Scheregge* from FF, and *Sheregge* from Ass, whereas spelling <i> *Shirigge* comes from a central source, Pat.

The predominance of <u> is not the only interesting feature of RIDGE names. <e> and <i> are also worth pointing out, the former because of the linguistic links of HRT with ESS, and the latter because of the future development of the vowel investigated. <e> has a tendency to appear in the south, centre and the east of the county in the vicinity of ESS. There is a similar tendency observable in the other items with reflexes of OE /y/ discussed here. This may reflect the early history of the area when parts of HRT (together with MDX) belonged to, or were under the influence of, the East Saxon kingdom of Essex (EPNS XII: XXV, EPNS XV: XVIII). This undoubtedly strengthened the linguistic influences between the two adjacent territories. All the names with RIDGE in which the item is recognisable in the PDE form of the name appear now with the standard form *ridge*. The presence of <i> in the 13th century could indicate the competition between <u> and <i>. There is further evidence that RIDGE was undergoing the change at that time, from the comparison of RIDGE and BRIDGE: see the discussion below.

### **History of -BURY.**

Table 17 (p. 134) shows the numbers of names with -BURY and the vowel spelling attested in each county in each fifty-year sub-period from 1100 to 1300. Map 22 (p. 155) shows the geographical distribution, and the changes in distribution, from one sub-period to the next. It also helps identify the location of the names that continue from one sub-period to another. The spelling details for each name, found in each sub-period can be obtained from Table 18 (p. 138) and from further maps, Map 23 (p. 156), Map 24 (p. 157), Map 24a (p. 158), Map 25 (p. 159) and Map 25a (p. 160).

-BURY in non-initial position is the most frequently attested item in DB, of the four items tested. All the -BURY names appear with <e> in this corpus, one of them with <e> and <y> interchangeably and one with <e> and <i> interchangeably. The names are found in ESS, MDX, HRT, BED and HUN. Two names are attested in the first half of the 12th century, one with <e> in ESS (M6) and one with <i> in HUN (VQ).

Spellings with all four vowels: <e>, <i/y> and <u> occur in -BURY names, either exclusively or interchangeably in the second half of the 12th century; see Table 18 (p. 138) and Map 23 (p. 156). <e> exclusively is found in three place names, <i/y> exclusively in two names and <u> exclusively in one name. Three names are found with



the interchangeable <e> and <i/y> spelling. One name has the interchangeable <e> and <u> spelling, two names have <i> interchangeably with <u>, and two names appear with the interchangeable spellings <e>, <i> and <u>.

<e>, <i/y> and <u> occur in all three types of sources. The number of names attested in different types of sources, followed by the names of sources (in abbreviation), are given in Table 23 below.

Table 23: Distribution of -BURY by type of sources: central, vs. local vs. undecided in 1151-1200.

Central			Local			Undecided		
e	i	u	e	i	u	e	i/y	u
4	5	3	3	1	1	7	5	2
Cur (MDX), P (BED, ESS, HUN)	Cur (MDX), P (ESS, MDX, HUN)	CurR (ESS), P (BED, HRT)	Colch (ESS), AD (HRT), BuryDoc (ESS)	Gesta (HRT)	Gesta (HRT)	Dugd (ESS), FF (ESS), France (ESS), LibEl (ESS), Clarkenwell (ESS)	FF (ESS, HRT), KCD (ESS), LibEl (ESS)	Ord (HUN), Clarken well (ESS)

Some names are attested in more than one source. There are fourteen names attested with <e>, eleven names attested with <i/y> and six names attested with <u>. The presence of names spelt with a particular vowel in a given source is shown in the table. Frequency of attestation with the same vowel in the same source is not counted.

Some names are recorded with interchangeable spelling in one source. For example, KIINGSBURY (Q8 in HRT), is found with the interchangeable <i> and <u> spelling in Gesta, possibly a local source. Clarkenwell, an undecided source (possibly a local source), records SHOEBURY (FB in ESS) with <e> and <u> interchangeably. LibEl, an undecided source, records LITTLEBURY (O6 in ESS) with <e> and <y> interchangeably. P, a central source, attests <e> and <i> in HALLINGBURY (B9 in ESS) and in another name, ALCONBURY (UU) in HUN. Additionally, different spellings can be recorded in one source for different names in the same county. P records one name in BED with <u> (SUDBURY, 24) and a different name with <e> (UPBURY, 4M). Cur, another central source, records two names in MDX: SUNBURY (WM) with <e> and KINGSBURY (XG) with <i>. The status of these interchangeable spellings is not easy to interpret as has been indicated in the discussion of -BRIDGE above.

There are changes in the distribution of variants in -BURY in the first half of the 13th century, compared to the previous sub-period: see Map 23 (p. 156) and Map 24 (p. 157). <i> (which subsumes <y>) is the most frequently occurring vowel graph. It is found exclusively in thirteen names and interchangeably in fourteen names: with <e> in eight names, with <u> in four names, and both with <e> and <u> in two names. Additionally, <e> exclusively is attested in four names and <u> exclusively in two names.

Some names are recorded in more than one source; there are forty-nine names recorded with <i>, nineteen names recorded with <e> and seven names recorded with <u>. Their occurrence in central, local and undecided sources is given in Table 24 below. <i> is attested in each county except ELY, where there is no data for -BURY, see Table 17 (p. 134) and Map 24 (p. 157). <e> is the next most frequently used graph but has a more restricted distribution: it appears in the south-east of the area examined, in eastern parts of HRT, ESS and MDX; it is absent in the north-west, in CAM, HUN, BED and western parts of HRT. <u> appears in BED, HUN, HRT and ESS. <e> is most frequently attested in undecided sources followed by local sources. Four names out of six found in local sources are attested in LSR dated to the same year, 1238, in ESS (EN, FB, GN and M6).

Table 24: Distribution of -BURY by type of sources: central, vs. local vs. undecided in 1201-1250.

Central			Local		Undecided		
e	i/y	u	e	i/y	e	i/y	u
2	18	3	6	3	11	28	4
Cl (ESS), RBE (ESS)	Ch (ESS), Cl (ESS, HUN), Cur (ESS), Fine (ESS), For (ESS, HUN), Orig (ESS), P (ESS), Pap (MDX), RBE (ESS, HRT)	Cl (ESS, HUN), Colch (ESS), AD (HRT)	LSR (ESS), Colch (ESS), AD (HRT)	Bodl (ESS), Colch (ESS)	Ass (ESS), BM (BED), Ct (ESS), Fees (ESS, HRT), FF (ESS), StPauls (MDX), Weinbaum (MDX), CartAnt (ESS)	Ass (BED, ESS, HRT, HUN, MDX), BM (BED), Ct (ESS), Fees (ESS), FF (BED, ESS, HRT, HUN, MDX)	Ass (BED), Fees (BED), LiberA (HRT), MP (ESS)

The listing of the sources in the table above shows the variation possible in one source and the variety of sources found in different counties. One source can attest -BURY with different vowel graphs, either in one county, some of it in one name, or in different

counties. Particularly interesting are the sources, found in each group, central, local and undecided, that record one name with interchangeable spelling. Some examples in ESS, in this sub-period, include Colch, most likely a local source, which has -BURY spelt with <e> and <i> in HALLINGBURY (B9). The same name is further recorded with <e>, <i> and <u> in Cl, a central source. FF, an undecided source, records SHOEBURY (FB) with <e> and <i/y>.

Comparing the attestations of -BURY in the second half of the 13th century to the first half, we can notice another change, see Table 17 (p. 134) and Map 24 (p. 157) and Map 25 (p. 159). <u> is attested in the largest number of names, in twelve names exclusively and in sixteen interchangeably: with <i/y> in ten names, with <e> in three names, and in three names with both <e> and <i/y>. Additionally, <e> is recorded in nine names exclusively, <i/y> in ten names exclusively, and <e> and <i> in five names interchangeably.

The attestations of spellings in different types of sources is given in Table 25 below. Some names are attested in more than one source. The variable way of spelling of -BURY in one source, either in one name, or in different names in one county continues to occur in this sub-period, as can be seen from the listing of the sources in the table below. For example, Pat, a central source, records SHOEBURY (FB in ESS), with <e> and <y> dated to the same year, 1254. Pat attests another name in ESS, DANBURY (GN), with <i/y> and <u>: each spelling appears several times at different dates. Further attestations in Pat come from HRT and HUN, one name in each county, each spelt with <u> (HERTINGFORDBURY, TC and ALCONBURY, UU). Some undecided sources, especially Ass, FF and also Ipm, provide many similar examples.

Local sources in the second half of the 13th century show more variation than before. Dunst has interchangeable <i> and <u> spelling in BED, in LIMBURY (4K) and UPBURY (4M); 4M has <u> in another local source AD. AD also attests <e> in two place names in HRT, SX (AULBURY FIELD) and SM (*Caldeberi*, CALVERY ORCHARD) and in one place name in MDX, BLOOMSBURY (Y3). FA records one name with <i> and <u> in HUN (ALCONBURY, UU) in 1285. Gesta attests two names in HRT, QB (PARKBURY) with <i> and QE (EASTBURY) with <u>.

Table 25: Distribution of -BURY by type of sources: central, vs. local vs. undecided in 1251-1300.

Central			Local			Undecided		
e	i	u	e	i	u	e	i	u
2	8	12	8	6	9	15	32	19
Pat (ESS) Abbr (HRT)	Ch (ESS), Cl (HUN), Pat (ESS), RBE (ESS), RH (ESS)	Ch (HRT), Cl (ESS, HRT), For (ESS), Orig (HUN), Pat (ESS, HRT, HUN), RH (MDX)	AD (MDX, HRT), ElyCh (CAM), ElyF (CAM), MxRec (MDX), StNeot (BED), Takeley (ESS)	Gesta (HRT), Dunst (BED), FA (HUN), Ely (ESS)	AD (BED), Dunst (BED), FA (HUN), Gesta (HRT), LSR (HRT), Waltham (ESS), StAlbansO (HRT)	Ass (CAM, ESS, HUN, MDX), BM (ESS), Cole (CAM), Ct (ESS), FF (ESS), HMC (ESS), Ipm (ESS, HRT, MDX), Tax (MDX),	Ass (BED, CAM, ESS, HRT, HUN, MDX), BM (HRT), Ct (ESS), FF (ESS, HRT, MDX), QW (BED), StPaulsMSS (MDX), WAM (ESS)	Ass (BED, ESS, MDX), BM (HUN), FF (ESS, HUN), Ipm (HRT), IpmR (BED), Tax (HRT, MDX), Val (MDX), WAM (HRT)

Although there are more place names recorded with <u> than with <i> in the second half of the 13th century, the frequency of occurrence of <i> names in the sources is still slightly higher than that of <u> names. There are forty-six names with <i> in the sources and forty names with <u>, as well as twenty-five names with <e>. This seems to suggest that -BURY is still written with <i> quite frequently, although in fewer place names, whilst <u> has made the biggest advances. A further sign of change in this sub-period, is the attestation of more names with <u> exclusively, as opposed to names written exclusively with <i/y>, eight <u> vs. three <i/y>, for the first time in this corpus.<sup>146</sup> The second half of the 13th century is most likely the time from which <u> becomes the traditional spelling in -BURY in this area, first in the west, BED, HRT and HUN, moving east to

<sup>146</sup> Names attested for the first time in the period 1251-1300 with <u> are: 12, O7, PR, Q6, QD, QE, SQ and YH (BRONDESBURY); names attested with <i/y> are: EV, O6 (*Lytlebirho*, HOWE WOOD) and OO.

MDX and ESS. This EPNS corpus attests the change nearly a century earlier than the dating proposed by Ekwall (quoted in Ek 1972: 61).

Only six -BURY names that maintain the item -BURY to the present day have a different vowel in spelling in PDE: all are minor names, spelt with <e>, three in HRT (PR, QD and RA), two in ESS (E9 and HA) and one in CAM (6T).

### **Confusion between -BURY and other elements.**

Some names with -BURY also appear occasionally with the spelling that points to other elements, for example *-beorg* or *-burn*:

LIMBURY (4K in BED) *Limberge* 1296 Cl,

MASHBURY (MV in ESS) [*Messe-*] *-berge* 1212 RBE,

DANBURY (GN in ESS) *Dagheneberg* 1285 Ass,

MEDBURY (2D in BED) *Maydeburn'* 1287 Ass,

SUDBURY (24 in BED) *Sutburn* 1185 P.

There are also numerous examples of *-beorg* and *-burn* appearing with spelling types found in -BURY throughout the whole area.

Item -BRIDGE is also attested with the spelling more likely to be found in -BURY. For example, STANBRIDGE (41 in HRT) appears as *Stanburge* (1086 DB) and *Stanburgh* (1227 Ass), and CAMBRIDGE (56 in CAM) is spelt *Grenteburga* (1086 ICC), *Canteburge* (1191 France, 1201 CCh), *-berg'* (1201 P), *Kanteberge* (1212 ANG), in addition to spelling types associated with -BRIDGE: see the Data Appendix for details.

Such examples have traditionally been explained as being due to the confusion of the place-name elements that occur interchangeably. However, in the light of a new analysis of variable spellings found in the LAEME corpus, discussed by Laing (1999), Laing and Lass (2003) and Lass and Laing (2005), this explanation may no longer be correct in all the cases of “confused” place-name elements. It is possible that some variation may have been due to a greater number of spelling possibilities for one word. Is *-berge* in MASHBURY (in ESS) another way of spelling *-byrig*, alongside *-bere*, *-berye*, *-biry*, *-burg*, *-berh*, *-boreye*, and several others recorded at that time? Or could *-burge*, *-berge*, *-berg'* (in CAMBRIDGE) appear interchangeably with *-bruge*, *-brege*, *-breg'*, and many others? Further work is needed to collect and analyse all the examples of spellings for elements that appear confused with each other to determine whether interchangeable patterns of letters emerge that make elements look similar to each other in spelling without necessarily one substituting for the other. Laing (1999) calls such patterns

Litteral Substitution Sets (LSS); they result in far more flexible and prodigal writing systems in early Middle English than has been previously assumed.

**History of -MILL.**

-MILL has very few attestations before the second half of the 13th century; one name appears with <e> in DB and in the first half of the 12th century, from 1151 to 1250 it is attested with the interchangeable <e>, <i> and <u> spelling, in a variety of sources. Two further names appear in the first half of the 13th century. There are twenty names in the second half of the 13th century; twelve with <e>, five with <u>, two with <i> exclusively, and one with <u> and <i> interchangeably. The distribution of the names is shown on Map 26 (p. 161). ESS, CAM, eastern HRT have the majority of names with <e>, one name with <e> is found in MDX in the first half of the 13th century. <u> is the predominant graph in the names in the west, in BED and west HRT. The scanty presence of <i> is interesting, compared to the other items; however, spellings with <i> are also infrequent in MILL- in name-initial position, see Map 15 (p. 147).

The variation recorded in -MILL is unusually orderly. Perhaps there is something idiosyncratic about the sources in which -MILL occurs. Table 26 below shows the numbers of names attested in central, local and undecided sources. The attestations seem to follow the general trend found in this corpus. The biggest number of names is attested in undecided sources, this is also the group that has the biggest number of variants. The numbers from central sources are marginally lower than the numbers found in local sources, however this may not be significant: we are dealing with only three and four names respectively.

Table 26: Distribution of -MILL by type of sources: central, vs. local vs. undecided. The number in brackets after the source symbol indicates how many names are attested in it, no number indicates attestation of one name.

Central		Local		Undecided		
e	u	e	u	e	i	u
2	1	3	2	7	3	4
RH (2) (CAM)	MinAcct (west HRT)	LSR (2) (east HRT) Dunmow (east ESS)	StAlbansO (2) (south HRT)	Ass (2) (ESS), Ct (CAM), Dugd (HRT), ER (ESS), FF (ESS), Ipm (ESS)	Ass (2) (BED, MDX), VCH (HRT)	Ass (2) (CAM, BED), Ipm (2) (west HRT)



Looking at specific sources in each group and their geographical reach, we notice the following arrangement. Two names with <e> in CAM (99, 6H) come from one central source, RH; the third name with <e> (64) comes from an undecided source, Ct. Two names with <e> in east HRT (SV, SW) come from LSR, the third name with <e> (PF) is recorded in an undecided source, Dugd. Another name recorded in the same parish is attested with <i> in an undecided source, VCH. Five names with <e> in ESS come from undecided sources, HI and KX from Ass, KB from ER, HE from FF and L9 from Ipm. MM, another name with <e> in ESS, is attested in a local source, Dunmow. Two of the four names with <u> in south-west HRT come from a local source, StAlbansO: both names are located in the same parish (PI), the other two names with <u> (P6 and PL) are found in one undecided source, Ipm. Additionally, PL is also attested in a central source, MinAcct. <i> in MDX (XW) is recorded in Ass, the name with <e> (Y8) in the first half of the 13th century comes from Bracton, also an undecided source. 7M in CAM is recorded with <u> in Ass. 2U in BED is also attested in Ass, both <i> and <u> are found in Ass dated to the same year, 1276. The spelling with <u> is recorded again in Ass 1287. The name is also attested in the first half of the 13th century, with <i>, in a local source, LSR.

The spelling of the vowel in -MILL seems to be more determined by the location of the name rather than the source. It is most visible in Ass and Ipm which are a source of data in several counties. They record -MILL with <e>, <i> and <u>. The spelling depends on the geographical location of the name attested. Thus, in ESS, Ass and Ipm attest -MILL with <e>, in west HRT the vowel is <u>, whilst in BED both <i> and <u> are attested. The distribution of the vowel graphs obtained from other sources, some of which are local, seems to follow this pattern fairly consistently, as shown on Map 26 (p. 161). The results for MILL in Ek (1972: 56-8) also show high numbers of <e> in ESS, HRT and CAM; the number of names with <u> in HRT is also significant. However, Ek's results are not mapped and we cannot see whether there is a preference for <u> in the west of the county.

So the preference for <e> and <u> does not seem to be linked to particular sources. We need to look at other factors, for example, the context in which /y/ occurs in -MILL: a labial consonant *m* which has been noted to cause fronting (Sundby 1963 following Ekwall 1936), and the following liquid *l* which may cause retraction (Kristensson 1967 following Ekwall 1956, Kristensson 1987, 1995a, Kitson 1998). Which one applied in the names discussed above? Both <e> and <u> are attested; however, they are found in different areas. Is it possible that these opposite tendencies were geographically exclusive of each



other? Perhaps retraction was favoured in the area that had /y/ in Old English and early Middle English, in BED and western parts of HRT, whereas ESS and the border areas of the adjacent counties which had /e/ in Late Old English (from earlier /y/) maintained <e>, and possibly /e/, in -MILL for longer than in the other items because of the labial context.

Eleven names with -MILL (out of eighteen that retain the item MILL in their name) have the item spelt as a separate word in PDE.

#### 4.3.4 Other item features

##### **h-dropping.**

One occurrence of h-dropping has been recorded in the first element of HALLINGBURY (a -BURY name): *Alliggebyr'* 1274 Ct (ESS, B9). H-dropping has been mentioned in the discussion of h-addition (insertion) in names with OAK, see section 4.2.4 (p. 111) above. It is argued there, with examples from LAEME corpus, that both processes occurred in early Middle English. There are further examples of h-dropping in section 4.4.4 (p. 219) below.

##### **l-vocalisation.**

TWO -BURY names in HRT show l-vocalisation in the first element of the names, which may have been facilitated by the labial quality of the initial *b* in the second element -bury. The names are ALDBURY (P5): *Audebury* 1232 Pat, [*Aude-*] -bir' 1233 Ch, and ALBURY (RZ): *Audebiria* 1210-12 RBE. Wells (1982: vol. I: 259) mentions that "[t] here have been droppings or vocalisation of /l/ in various environments in the history of English ... and of traditional-dialects (*owd* for *old*, etc.)": however he does not indicate how far back the process can be traced or where it occurred. Jordan (Jordan-Crook 1974: §292) dates the loss of *l* after back vowels in English, with compensatory lengthening or formation of a diphthong with *u*, to the 15th century. An earlier development of l-vocalisation is observed in Old French before the Norman Conquest. "In the native vocabulary Fr.[ench] *u* < *l* spread, especially in pl.[ace] and pers.[onal] n.[ames], as *Audley* < *Aldanl̥ēz* (Shrop.[shire])" (Jordan-Crook 1974: §252 and rem.). This remark comes in the section that discusses the developments found up to the end of the 14th century, however there no further details given, such as the dating of the spread to the native vocabulary. The names with -BURY mentioned above come from the 13th century

central sources. There are further instances of l-vocalisation in section 4.4.4 (p. 219) and section 4.6.3 (p. 233); all the records come from the 13th century.

**Initial fricative voicing of [f] and [s].**

Initial fricative voicing is recorded in a MDX name FINSBURY: *Vinisbir'*, *Vinesbir'* (XW). This feature is discussed in more detail separately, see section 4.6 below.

**4.3.5 The change of OE /y/ to eME /i/**

The traditional handbook account (e.g. Lass 1992: 40) presents the following situation at the outset of the early Middle English period:

OE	West-Saxon	Anglian	Kentish
y(:)	y(:)	y(:)	e(:)

Kentish /e(:)/ has a wider distribution: it also occurs in the South-East Midlands, especially Essex, Suffolk, parts of Norfolk; whereas CAM and HUN “incline toward *i*” (Jordan-Crook 1974: §41). Kentish /e(:)/ remains unchanged into Middle English. OE /y(:)/ continues without a change in “the south-west, west midlands and much of the central midlands ... and in one form or another persists into the fifteenth century” (Lass 1992: 54). OE /y(:)/ undergoes unrounding to /i(:)/ in the north and the north-east Midlands, esp. Lincolnshire and the adjacent areas (Jordan-Crook 1974: §41), adding to the number of variants. The unrounding of OE /y(:)/ to /i(:)/ takes place in the north and east by the early to mid-twelfth century (Lass 1992: 54). The developments lead to the following geographical variation in early Middle English (presented in terms of a broad-brush picture):

South-West	North, North	Kent
South-West Midlands	East-Midlands	South-East Midlands
y(:)	i(:)	e(:)

The three discrete territories and the evidence for them, are discussed in Jordan-Crook (1974: §§40-42). See also Lass (1992: 54) for a discussion of the complexities of the developments, which transcend clear-cut geographic boundaries. In fact, Lass and Laing

(2005) present evidence from LAEME corpus that further questions the existence of a uniform /y(:)/ area and the validity of the traditional tri-partite division, of the kind found in standard handbooks since Sweet (1884). Returning to the South-East Midlands, however, we are nevertheless likely to find <e>, representing /e(:)/, in the place names of ESS. Indeed Ek (1972) has already confirmed this to be the case. However, as explained in chapter 2 (section 2.2.6) above, his focus is on finding the boundary of /e(:)/ in the first half of the 14th century. This old-style method of dialect description produces generalisations that are no longer meaningful. For example, statements such as “In Essex it is quite evident ... that e was the normal development of y. 59% are e-forms” (Ek 1972: 62). The remaining 39% shared by <i/y> and <u> is not an insignificant amount. However, Ek's study does not (aim to) show the detailed development of individual items, and loses an opportunity to contribute to building a picture of the early Middle English dialect continuum. In particular, he does not analyse his data to establish whether there is evidence for the change of OE /y/ to eME /i/. How early does <i> appear, where is it found and in what way does it compete with the other variants? What happens to <e> in early Middle English? Are names with <e> transparent, does <e> become replaced by other variants, and if so which one(s)? What are the differences between the items analysed? The maps and data tables in the preceding section of this thesis are examples of details that can be recovered and which go a considerable way to answering these questions.

### **Spellings with <y>.**

<y>, either exclusively or interchangeably, is attested in BRIDGE, BURY and MILL; RIDGE was not attested with <y>, as shown in Table 13 (p. 125) and Table 16 (p. 132). The earliest occurrence of <y> exclusively was found in a name with -BURY, *Wyndilbyry* in CAM (6A) in the first half of the 12th century: the name is spelt with <i> and <e> subsequently before 1300. Two names, a -BURY name and a -BRIDGE name, are found with <y> exclusively in the second half of the 13th century. One is a by-name, *Peter de Shobyr'* (ESS EV), and it appears only once in the corpus, in FF in 1265. This source, classified as undecided, attests <i> and <e> in other ESS names in the 13th century. The second name, *aqua de Cukusbrygg*, *Cukisbrygg* in HUN (VJ), is attested in Ass, in 1286. The same source and date attests another name in HUN (TY), spelt with <i> and <y> interchangeably, *Botilbrig(ge)*, *Botylbryge* (1286 Ass). One more -BURY name with <y>, *Gattesbyr'* in HRT (SM), is recorded in Ass (1248), and then with <u>, *Catesbury* in 1295 (CI). <u> and also <e> spellings may in fact have been attested in this name throughout the 13th century: however the record is not detailed enough after the date

1198.<sup>147</sup> Additionally, <y> exclusively appears in two simplex names *Faresheved Brygg* in HUN (TQ) and Alice de *Byry* in CAM (5F): both come from the second half of the 13th century, *Brygg* from a central source, RH, and *Byry* from an undecided sources, Ass. A third occurrence of <y>, in HUN (U9), spelling *Byrig*, *Byri*, is attested alongside <i> *Birig*, *Biry*, in one source, BM dated to the same year, 1253.

There is an early attestation of <y> in ESS (O6), namely in DB (1086), in a name *Litelbyriā*. The name is also found with <e> at the same date, *Lit(t)leberi* 1086 InqEl, and with <y>, <i> and <e> interchangeably in the 12th century, (*æt*) (*into*) *Lyt(t)lanbyrig* 1004 (12th) LibEl, *Littelbirig* 11th (c. 1200) KCD 907, *-berig* 1042-66 (12th) LibEl. The 13th century attestations appear with <i> [*Lit(t)le-*] *-bir(e)* 1202 FF and 1254 Ass, both sources classified as undecided. The history of the spelling seems to indicate that the name could have been known with both the local ESS form *bery* and the standard form *byrig*, later spelled *birig*, and the standard form prevailed in the end.

Another early occurrence of <y>, in the name CAMBRIDGE (56), appears alongside <i> and <u> in the 12th century and alongside <i>, <e> and <u> in the second half of the 13th century, either in the same source or in different sources e.g.: *Grantanbrycge*, *Grantabricge* c. 1100 [ASC (D)], (*to*) [*Grānte-*] *-brygge*, *Grāntebricge* in 1170 (LibEl), *Kantebrig* 1196 FF, *Canteburge* 1191 France, [*Grānte-*] *-brecge*, *-breg(ge)*, *-brug(g)ge*, *-brucge* to 1285 Ass, *Grauntebryge* 1272 Ass.<sup>148</sup> All the four vowels available for spelling of OE /y/ are in use at some point in the name in the 12th and the 13th century and the modern form is with *bridge*.

Several place names have interchangeable spelling with <y> and <i> recorded in one source dated to the same year in the 13th century. <y> and <i> must be used as equivalent graphs at this late stage, e.g.:

*Stanbrig(g)e*, *Stanbrygge* 1202, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, Cl, 1284 FA (BED 41)  
*Hutbyr'*, *Utbiri* 13th Dunst (BED 4M)  
 [*Tolles-*] *-bir*, *Tollebyr* 1234 FF, *-bir*, *Tollebyr* 1235 FF, [*Tylle-*] *-bir*, *-byr* 1227-53 FF (ESS HV)  
*Shobir(e)*, *-byry* 1229 FF, 1262, (*Magna*) 1282 FF (ESS FB)  
*Dan(n)yng(h)ebyr(y)*, *-biry* 1247 FF (ESS GN)  
*Littlebire*, *Litlebyri* 1209 For (HUN VU)

147 From 1198 “*et freq* to 1295 Ipm, with variant spellings *-bery*, *-bury*”, EPNS XV: 190.

148 The DB attestation *Grentebrike* is found with <i> exclusively in this corpus.

*Eynesbyr, -bir* 1234 FF, 1235 Cl, 1286 Ass, *Eynisbyr, -biry* 1248 FF, 1275 Cl (HUN VQ)  
[*Sunne-*] *-bir'*, *Sunnesbyr'* 1274 Ass (MDX WM)

Some of the above names appear also with <e> or <u> in the same source with the same date, or with a different date, or in different sources throughout the 13th century. Other names attest interchangeable spellings of <y> with either <i>, <e> and <u>, appearing in a variety of sources together or separately. In total, there are seven BRIDGE names, one MILL name and eighteen BURY names with <y> attested in this corpus in the 13th century, see Table 15 (p. 130) and Table 18 (p. 138) and the corresponding Data Appendix entries for details. Most of the attestations with <y> come from Ass (fifteen tuples) and FF (eight tuples), both undecided sources. The other contributors in the undecided category of sources are: LibEl (three tuples), BM (two tuples), Ct (one tuple), Ipm (one tuple). The central sources attest far fewer <y> spellings, RH (two tuples), Cl, For and Pat (one tuple each). Two tuples may come from local sources, St Neot and Dunst, two cartularies in BED.

The almost complete absence of <y> in the early data supports the fact that ESS and at least the border areas of the adjacent counties did not have /y/ sound in Old English. Following the unrounding of /y/ and merger with /i/ in those areas where it occurred in early Middle English, the graph <y> becomes available as an alternative graph to <i> rather than a spelling representing a different sound. When /i/ appears in place names in the counties examined here, it can be spelt with <y> exclusively, <i> and <y> interchangeably, as can be seen from the above examples, and with <i> exclusively as shown in other names (see the data tables and maps above and the Data Appendix). For this reason both graphs are represented by one symbol on the maps: where applicable, <y> is pointed out for DB on maps.

### **Comparison of BRIDGE and RIDGE.**

Spelling evidence in BRIDGE names in the second half of the 13th century shows a strong preference for <i> exclusively, esp. in HUN, CAM and ESS, although the presence of <e> exclusively in ESS is also high, see Map 19 (p. 151) and Map 13 (p. 145). <u> is also found, but less frequently and interchangeably with <i> in the west, in MDX, BED and HUN, or interchangeably with <e> in ESS, or interchangeably with both <e> and <i> in ESS and CAM. A comparison with the RIDGE maps for the same period, Map 21 (p. 154) and Map 13 (p. 145), reveals that the two items are different. <u> is the most frequently used graph, either exclusively or interchangeably, especially with <i>, in RIDGE names in the second half of the 13th century. Map 21 (p. 154) is similar to Map 18 (p.

150) showing -BRIDGE with more names spelt with <u>, mostly interchangeably with <i>, in the first half of the 13th century.

<u> in BRIDGE is ousted by <i> faster, perhaps because BRIDGE has a wider geographical coverage and more numerous presence. That means more variation and a less stable situation in this part of the country. <u> competes with <i> in HUN and CAM and with <e> and <i> in ESS, southern CAM, south-eastern HRT and MDX. In this unstable situation the standard form, represented by the graph <i> prevails. RIDGE names, on the other hand, are restricted geographically to the south west of the area examined. The area, especially BED and western parts of HRT, is under the influence of the Middle English south-western rounded vowel spelt <u>.

Is <u> likely to represent /u/ in BRIDGE and RIDGE? According to Jordan-Crook (1974: §43.2) the following palatal consonants /ʃ/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/ cause a retraction of /y/ to /u/ in the 12th century, hence the spelling <u>. Although there is presence of <u> in the two items, we cannot be sure that <u> represents /u/ because of the use of <u> to represent /y/ where it still appeared in Middle English; see Lass and Laing (2005) for a reassessment of the subject.

<u> is not restricted to BRIDGE and RIDGE, it also occurs in the other items BURY and MILL. In -BURY, in name non-initial position, there is a change from the predominant spelling with <i> to <u> in the second half of the 13th century, at the time when <i> gains wider coverage as the predominant graph in -BRIDGE. Also interesting is the co-occurrence of the other graphs <e> and <i/y> in many names in all four items examined. Does each graph represent a different (contrastive) phonological unit (and sound) or are they used interchangeably in writing only?

All the BRIDGE and RIDGE names in which the items survive to modern times now have the standard forms *bridge* and *ridge*, with <i> in spelling. Names with BRIDGE show a preference for <i> by the second half of the 13th century. It is quite likely that RIDGE undergoes the same development as BRIDGE but takes a longer time, as the names are restricted to the area in the west, with the preference for <u>. The change from <u> to <i> in spelling can be anticipated from the interchangeable <u> and <i> spelling in some names in the 13th century. The analysis of the spellings in the RIDGE names in the 14th century is however necessary to confirm this, as there is a (less likely) possibility of a replacement with the standard form in modern times.



### Comparison of BURY and MILL.

/y/ in BURY and MILL appears in the same context of a preceding labial and following liquid consonant. The two items are usually treated separately, BURY with other words with reflexes of OE /y/ before *r*, with the context of the preceding labial *b* discounted; whereas MILL is grouped with other words with the following *l*, and the context of the preceding *m* is evoked as an explanation for the “unexpected” spelling with <e> (Sundby 1963: 123, Kristensson 1987: 97, both referring to Ekwall 1936).

There are, however, some similarities between BURY and MILL that might be related to the shared context in which /y/ occurs in both items. For example, more names are recorded with <e> than with the other graphs in both items BURY- and MILL- in name-initial position in the second half of the 13th century. Names with BURY- are found in ESS, HRT and MDX; a few attestations are recorded in local sources. However, the same sources also record BURY- with <u> or <i>. Names spelt with <e> in MILL- appear in CAM, ESS, HRT and MDX, both in local and undecided sources.

<e> also appears in more names with -MILL in name non-initial position than with the other vowels, although the presence of <u> is also noticeable. One reason for <u> being noticeable (see Map 26 p. 161) is that <e> and <u> appear almost exclusive of each other: <e> in ESS, east HRT, and CAM, and <u> in west HRT and BED. <e> in -BURY in name non-initial position is used almost exclusively in DB in each county; except CAM and ELY, for which there is no data. After that, <e> is present in equal numbers with <i> in the 12th century. In the first half of the 13th century <e> is still noticeable, although it is less frequent than <i>. The predominance of <u> in -BURY in the second half of the 13th century is most striking in the west of the area, in BED and HRT. MDX and ESS also record <u> but still have noticeable numbers of names with <e>.

The persistence of <e> spellings in both words is perhaps influenced by a preceding labial and following liquid in both cases.

### 4.3.6 Summary conclusions

The amount of data increases with time, although not every item is recorded in each sub-period. The increase of the numbers of names attested is accompanied by the increase in variation. All the four items BRIDGE, RIDGE, BURY, MILL investigated are spelt with <e>, <i> and <u> at some point in the period 1100-1300 but the proportions of the graphs differ from item to item, from area to area in one item, and also change with time. Two items,



BURY and MILL, appear in large enough numbers of names as the first element and as the second element to allow for comparisons to be made. There is little difference in the behaviour of names with MILL in name-initial as opposed to name non-initial position. Names with BURY- as the first element show a more even distribution of <e>, <i> and <u> compared to names with -BURY as the second element; see below for more details.

- <y> is highly unlikely to represent the high front rounded vowel /y/ in this corpus. The evidence presented above points to the use of <y> as an additional graph representing /i/ alongside <i> from the second half of the 12th century.
- The changes found in the items with the reflexes of OE /y/ seem to be item specific, partly because of the context in which the vowel appears. Some of the developments are area/county specific; some items are spelt differently in different types of sources.
- BRIDGE- in name-initial position or as a simplex name is attested in too few names, and only in the second half of the 13th century, to allow for any pattern to be observed.
- -BRIDGE in name non-initial position is the first item, of the four, to appear with the majority <i> spelling; a preference for <i> spelling is noticeable from the second half of the 12th century.
- Many names with -BRIDGE that are first attested in the corpus in the 13th century appear with <i> exclusively. They most likely represent a new stratum of language, with the early Middle English, post-change vowel, /i/. The biggest number of names with <i> are found in ESS and CAM.
- <e> in -BRIDGE is still well represented in the second half of the 13th century; also in new names, mostly in local sources in ESS. This could indicate that local usage still favours traditional local spelling of names before 1300.
- -RIDGE follows -BRIDGE in the process of change towards <i>, but takes longer time because the names are geographically restricted to the area influenced by <u>: HRT and the areas of BED and ESS bordering with HRT.
- The limited geographical occurrence of -RIDGE names contributes to the majority <u> spelling, also from local sources, in the second half of the 13th century. However, the beginning of the change from <u> to <i> is already signalled then, in the interchangeable <i> and <u> spellings.

- Few BURY- names appear before 1251; the attestations from 1251 to 1300 are spelt with <e> in west ESS, on the HRT border, in MDX also on the HRT border, and in HRT. <i> is attested in ESS, CAM and HUN, whereas <u> is found in HRT and BED.
- All the attestations of -BURY in name non-initial position in DB appear with <e>: one name is recorded with <e> and <y> interchangeably and one name is found with <e> and <i> interchangeably. <i> is attested alongside <e>, and less frequent <u>, throughout the area, from the 12th century onwards, and it significantly outnumbers <e> and <u> by the first half of the 13th century.
- However, the second half of the 13th century is the first period when the traditional spelling of -BURY with <u> becomes predominant in this area. The direction of the change is from the west, HRT and BED, eastwards; <u> is present in ESS and MDX, but they continue to have more names with <e> than the other counties.
- MILL is the only place name element among the items investigated in this project that is attested in similar numbers of names in name-initial position and in non-initial position. The majority of the place names with MILL are attested only in the 13th century. <e> is the most frequently used graph in MILL, in both positions in names, followed by <u> and <i>; <i> is, however, the least frequent graph before 1300. <e> is found predominantly in the east of the area, in ESS, CAM, east MDX and east HRT; whereas the preference for <u> occurs in the west of the area, in west HRT and in BED.
- Spelling of MILL is the most conservative of the items investigated; <e> may be maintained for longer in MILL due to the preceding labial consonant *m*. This context may help explain why there is no significant difference in the spelling of MILL when it is attested in name-initial position compared to name non-initial position.

4.4 OE /æ:/

Three items HEATH, MEAD 'meadow', SEA were investigated for the development of OE /æ:/ in DB (1086), and the 12th and 13th century. The analysis was carried out separately for the items in name-initial position and in non-initial position in fifty-year sub-periods. The results for HEATH-, MEAD- and SEA- in name-initial position are presented in Table 27 (p. 196), Table 28 (p. 197) and Table 29 (p. 199) below. Table 30 (p. 200), Table 31 (p. 201) and Table 32 (p. 203) present the results for -HEATH, -MEAD and -SEA in name non-initial position. The data is mapped on seven distribution maps in section 4.4.2 below. The results are discussed in the remainder of section 4.4.

4.4.1 Results

Table 27 summarises the spelling variation found in place names with HEATH-, MEAD- and SEA- in name-initial position. Spellings with <a> and <e>, either exclusively or interchangeably, are attested as indicated in the table. HEATH- is attested in each sub-period examined: one attestation of <æ> was found, in a name spelt also with <a> in the second half of the 12th century. There is also an occurrence of <o>, interchangeably with <a>, in the second half of the 13th century. MEAD- is only attested in the second half of the 13th century, while SEA- is found in DB and both halves of the 13th century. MEAD- and SEA- show less variation than HEATH-; this is partly due to fewer names found with MEAD- and SEA- than with HEATH-, see Table 28 (p. 197) and Table 29 (p. 199) below.

Table 27: Spelling variation of Old English /æ:/ in early Middle English place names with HEATH-, MEAD- and SEA- in name-initial position.

OE /æ:/	DB 1086	1101-1150	1151- 1200	1201-1250	1251-1300
HEATH-	<a>  <a>~<e>	<a> <e>  <a>~<e>	<a> <e> <a>~<e>  <a>~<æ>	<a>  <a>~<e>	<a> <e> <a>~<e>  <a>~<o>
MEAD-				<e>	<a>~<e>
SEA-	<a>			<e>	<a> <e>

Table 28: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /æ:/ in early Middle English place names with HEATH-, MEAD- and SEA- in name-initial position.

		DB 1086			1101-1150			1151-1200				1201-1250		1251-1300						
<i>spelling</i>		a	a~e	a	e	a~e	a	e	a~e	a~æ	a	a~e	a	e	a~e	a~o				
<i>item</i>	<i>sub- total of HEATH- names</i>	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	7	1	6	5	3	1	Distribution of HEATH- by county, sub-period and spelling: Maps 29, 30, 31.			
<i>distribution by county</i>																				
BED														1						
CAM														2						
ESS		2		1		1	1		2		4		1	1	1	1				
HRT		1	1		1			1		1	2	1	4	1	2					
MDX		1									1		1							

Table 28 cont.: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /æ:/ in early Middle English place names with HEATH-, MEAD- and SEA- in name-initial position.

		DB 1086	1101-1150	1151-1200	1201-1250	1251-1300									
<i>spelling</i>					e				a~e						
<i>item</i>	<i>sub-total of MEAD-names</i>				1				1		Distribution of MEAD- by county, sub-period and spelling: Map 32.				
<i>distribution by county</i>															
	HRT								1						
	ESS				1										
<i>spelling</i>		a			e		a	e			Distribution of SEA- by county, sub-period and spelling: Map 32.				
<i>item</i>	<i>sub-total of SEA-names</i>	1			2		1	1							
	CAM							1							
	ELY				1 (not localised)										
	ESS	1			1		1								

For the data arrangement in Table 29, see the explanatory paragraphs preceding Table 3 and notes about the PDE column below the table title (p. 65) above.

Table 29: OE /æ:/ – history of spelling of individual place names when items HEATH-, MEAD- and SEA- are in name-initial position.

Test item HEATH-

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
<b>BED</b>	3S					e	HEATH
<b>CAM</b>	6B					e	HEATH FM
	79					e	ASHLEYHEATH FM
<b>ESS</b>	BC	a	a~e	a~e	a	e	HATFIELD BROAD OAK
	CK					a	BECONTREE HEATH
	EY		a	a	a	a~o	HADLEIGH
	HI	a		a~e	a	a~e	HATFIELD PEVEREL
	JU				a		BOXTED HEATH
<b>HRT</b>	Q3				a	a~e	HADLEY
	Q4					e	HEATH WOOD
	QY	a~e	e	a~æ	a~e	a	BISHOPS HATFIELD
	QY					a	ASTWICK MANOR <i>Alswyke in Hatfelde</i>
	QY					a	LUDWICK HALL <i>Ludewyke juxta Hatfelde</i>
	S7	a		e	a	a~e	HADHAM
	S8					a	HADHAM PARK
<b>MDX</b>	WD	a~ai			a	a	HATTON
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>						

Test item MEAD-

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
<b>ESS</b>	K7				e		CHILLWELL MEADOW
<b>HRT</b>	OV					a~e	MAYDENCROFT FM <i>Medcroft</i>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>						

Test item SEA-

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
CAM	9G					e	WET and DRY SEALODES
ELY	not localised				e		<i>Se(e)dic(h)(e)</i>
ESS	IH	a			e	a	SAMPSON'S FM <i>Samanton(e)</i>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>						

Table 30 gives the summary of spellings found in place names with -HEATH and -MEAD in name non-initial position. There are no attestations of -SEA in the period examined. Both -HEATH and -MEAD are found with <a> and <e>, either exclusively or interchangeably, in the sub-periods indicated in the table. Spelling <ei>~<ey> is recorded in one name with -HEATH, possibly pointing to the use of a different place-name element.

Table 30: Spelling variation of Old English /æ:/ in early Middle English place names with -HEATH, -MEAD and -SEA in name non-initial position.

OE /æ:/	DB 1086	1101-1150	1151- 1200	1201-1250	1251-1300
-HEATH	<e>~<ei>		<a>~<e>~ <ei>	<e>	<a> <e> <a>~ <e> <e>~<ey>
-MEAD	<e>		<a> <e>	<a> <e> <a>~ <e>	<a> <e> <a>~ <e>
-SEA	no attestations				

The distribution of names with -HEATH and -MEAD by county, spelling and sub-period is shown in Table 31 (p. 201) below. Table 32 (p. 203) traces the history of spelling of the individual names that make up the numbers in Table 31.





Table 31 cont.: Distribution of reflexes of Old English /æ:/ in early Middle English place names with -HEATH, -SEA and -MEAD in name non-initial position.

		DB 1086	1101-1150	1151-1200		1201-1250			1251-1300			
<i>spelling</i>		e		a	e	a	e	a~e	a	e	a~e	
<i>item</i>	<i>sub-total of names</i>	1		3	1	4	4	2	13	10	3	Distribution of -MEAD by county, sub-period and spelling: Maps 34 and 35.
-MEAD												
<i>distribution by county</i>												
BED								1			2	
CAM							1			3		
ELY							2			1		
ESS				1	1	3	1		8	2		
HRT		1		1		1		1	5	3	1	
MDX				1						1		

For the data arrangement in Table 32, see the explanatory paragraphs preceding Table 3 and notes about the PDE column below the table title (p. 65) above.

Ten -MEAD place names with <a> and six with <e> come from additional appendices of field names at the end of volumes for CAM and ELY, ESS and HRT. Two names, one with <a> (O5 in ESS) and one with <e> (8T in CAM), are attested in the first half of the 13th century. Nine names with <a>: five in ESS (BC, CE, IV, M3 and OC) and four in HRT (Q6 two names, RW WELL MEAD, and XN) are attested in the second half of the 13th century. Five names with <e>: one in CAM (96), two in ESS (HE and L2) and two in HRT (QZ and S7) come from the same sub-period.<sup>149</sup>

Table 32: OE /æ:/ – history of spelling of individual place names when items -HEATH, -MEAD and -SEA are in name non-initial position.

Test item -HEATH							
County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	
CAM	6T	e~ei		a~e~ei	e	e~ey	HORSEHEATH
ESS	B3					e	EPPING <i>Eppying(ge)heth(e)</i>
	B3					a	AMBERSBURY BANKS <i>Eppynghatthe</i>
	EY					a	HADLEIGH
	JU					e	BOXTED HEATH
	KL					a~e	STANWAY HEATH
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6</b>						

TEST ITEM -MEAD							
County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
BED	24				a~e	a~e	BUSHMEAD
	34					a~e	SHORTMEAD (HO)
CAM	7F					e	LONG MEADOW
	7P					e	WADLOES FOOTPATH <i>Woteleuuemedwe</i>
	8T				e		WEST MEADOW
	96					e	PDE MISSING <i>Bittermede</i>
ELY	AP				e		LONG MEADOW FIELD

<sup>149</sup> The MDX volume also has this appendix; however it does not record any field names with -MEAD (OR -HEATH). The BED and HUN volume (EPNS III) does not have this additional appendix. See Footnote 124 on p. 126 for further data from the appendices of field names.

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
	AY				e		SMALL MEADOW FIELD
	AY					e	PDE MISSING <i>Gretemedwe</i>
ESS	BC					a	ALICE LEY MEAD
	CE					a	LAND MEAD
	BZ				a		HOLE FM <i>holemad</i>
	HE					e	CATS TAIL MEADOW
	HI			a			MARSHALLS <i>Smalemade</i>
	HI				e		GRAY'S FM <i>Gavelmed(e)</i>
	IV					a	MILL FIELD <i>Melnemad</i>
	JS					a	KING'S FM <i>Kingesmadwe</i>
	KY			e	a		HOLE FM <i>Holemede</i>
	L2					e	KING FIELD <i>Kenefeldemed</i>
	M3					a	COFFERY MEAD
	O5				a		LANG MEAD FIELD
	OA					a	HOLE FM <i>Holemad</i>
	OC					a	POOL MEAD
	OF					a	NORTON END <i>Nortonemad</i>
HRT	Q6					a	ALDBURY BUSHES <i>Aldeburymade</i>
	Q6					a	BROAD FIELD <i>le Brodemade</i>
	QN					e	WALK WOOD <i>Walkemede</i>
	QZ					e	PDE MISSING <i>Dychmed</i>
	RW					a	WELL FM <i>Wellemade</i>
	RW					a	WELL MEAD
	S2				a		REE MEAD
	S7					e	LITTLE MEAD
	SB	e		a	a~e	a~e	HORMEAD
	XN					a	ROUGH MEAD
MDX	XO			a		e	BROAD MEAD
TOTAL	35						

TEST ITEM -SEA: no attestations.

#### 4.4.2 Maps

The results for items HEATH, MEAD 'meadow', SEA, summarised in the tables in the section above, are mapped on seven distribution maps below.

Map 29: history of HEATH- (in name-initial position) from 1100 to 1200.

Map 30: history of HEATH- (in name-initial position) from 1201 to 1250.

Map 31: history of HEATH- (in name-initial position) from 1251 to 1300.

Map 32: history of MEAD- and SEA- (in name-initial position) from 1100 to 1300.

Map 33: history of -HEATH (in name non-initial position) in DB, 12th and 13th centuries.

Map 34: history of -MEAD (in name non-initial position) from 1151 to 1250.

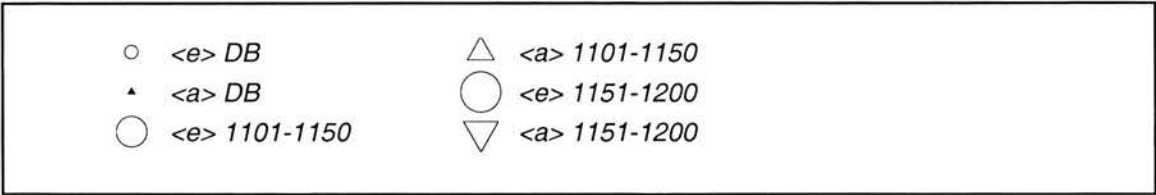
Map 35: history of -MEAD (in name non-initial position) from 1251 to 1300.

There are two versions of Map 35, one without the IDs, for clarity of the picture, and the second one (labelled Map 35a) with the IDs, for identification of the place names.

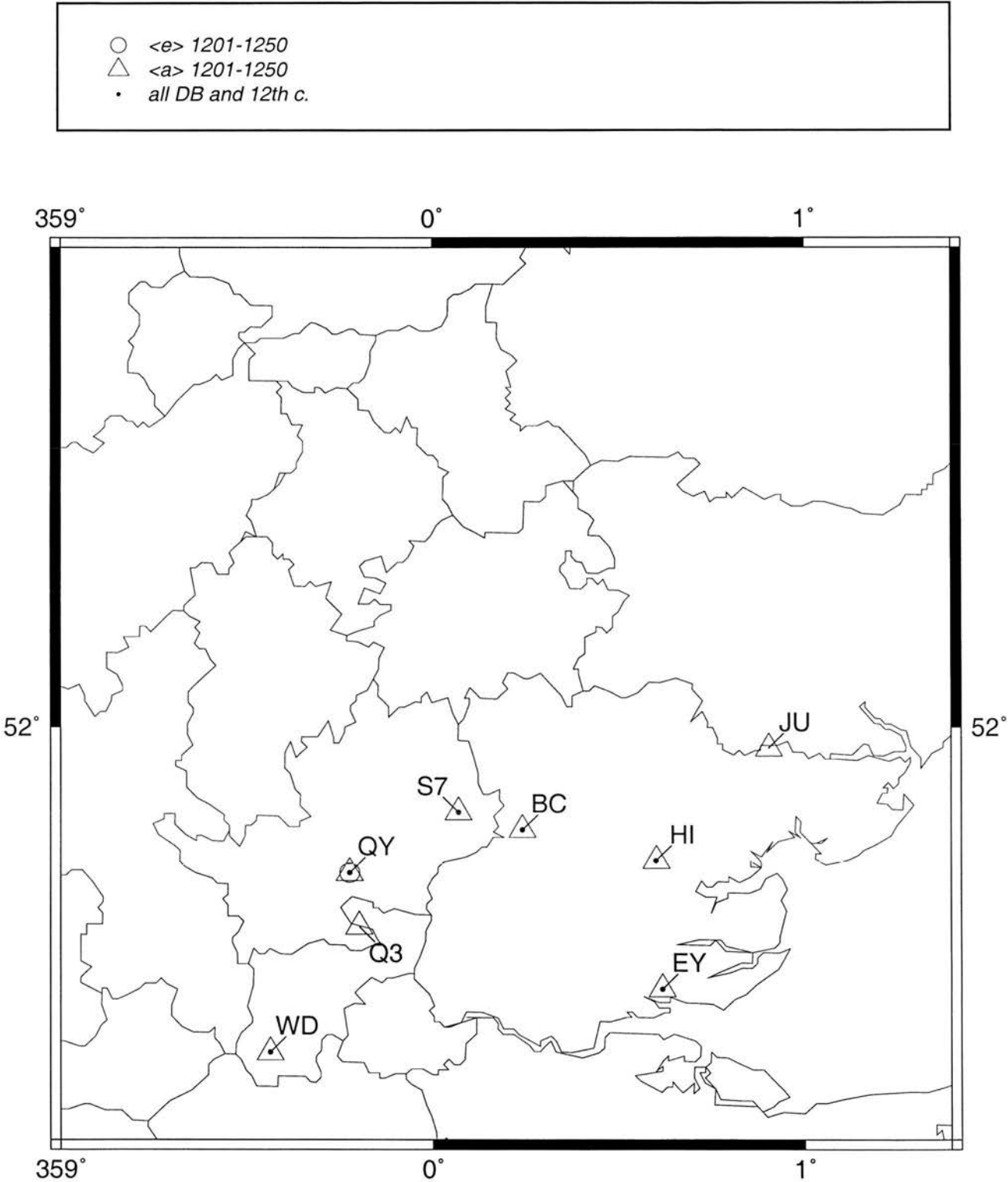
See the Key Map (p. 2) for the locations of the counties investigated. The use of more than one symbol for a given location on maps is explained below the list of maps in section 4.2.2 on p. 75 above.

Map 29: History of HEATH- (in name-initial position) from 1100 to 1200 (with DB).

Not shown on the map is <æ> attested once in QY in the second half of the 12th century.



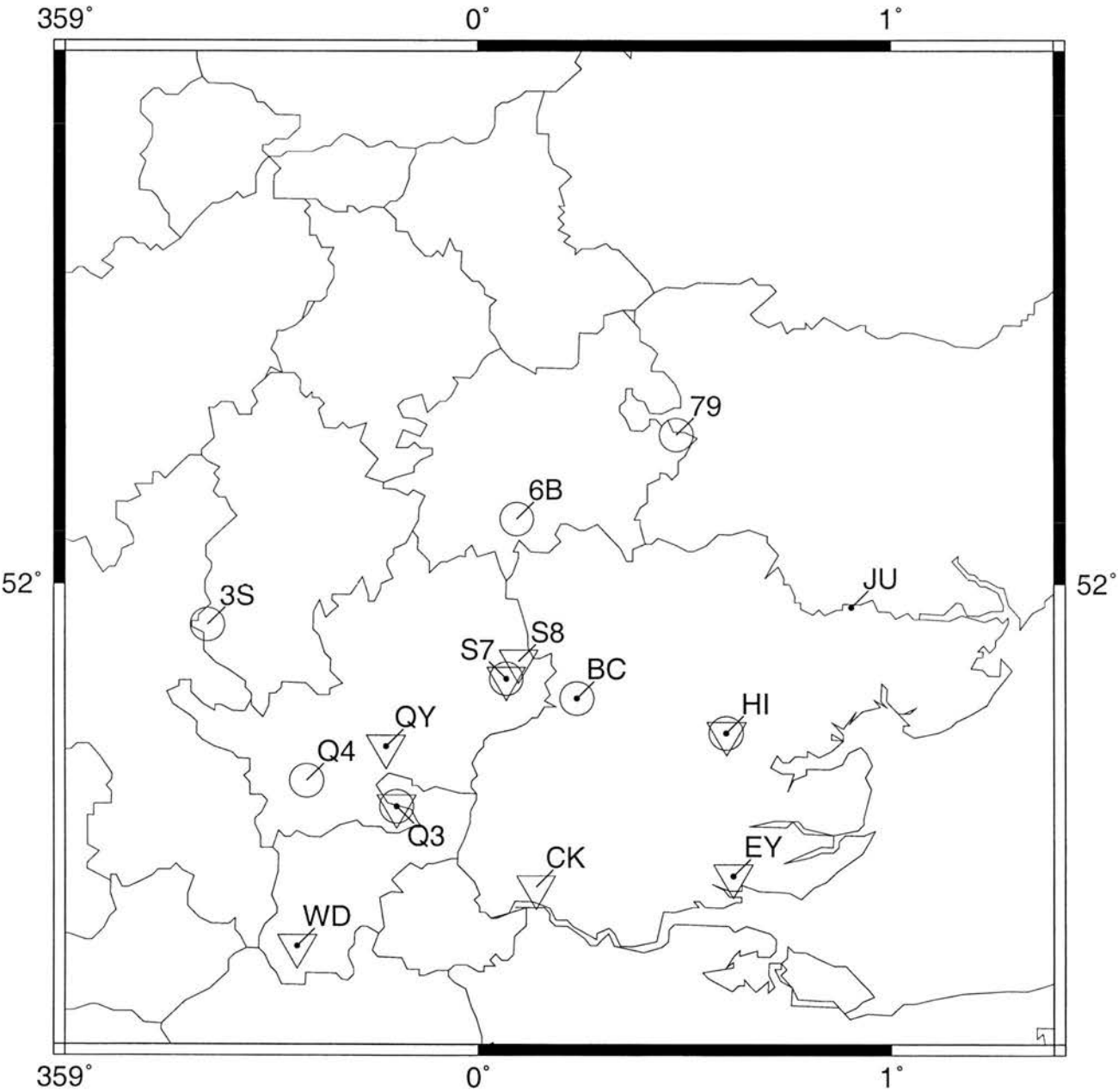
Map 30: History of HEATH- (in name-initial position) from 1201 to 1250 with DB and 12th century locations for reference.





Map 31: History of HEATH- (in name-initial position) from 1251 to 1300 with locations from 1100 to 1250 (and in DB) for reference.

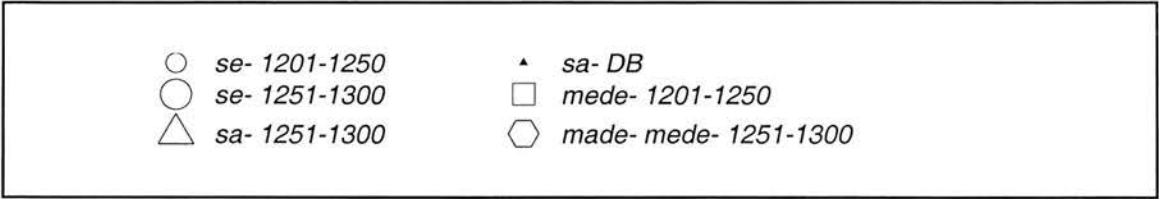
Three names are recorded at location QY (in HRT) in the second half of the 13th century: BISHOPS HATFIELD, ASTWICK MANOR and LUDWICK HALL, all HEATH- names, spelt with <a>. Not shown on the map is <o> attested once in EY in the second half of the 13th century. -HEATH appears also in name non-initial position in names represented by EY and JU (in ESS); see Map 33 (p. 210).



Map 32: History of MEAD- and SEA- (in name-initial position) from 1100 to 1300 (and in DB).

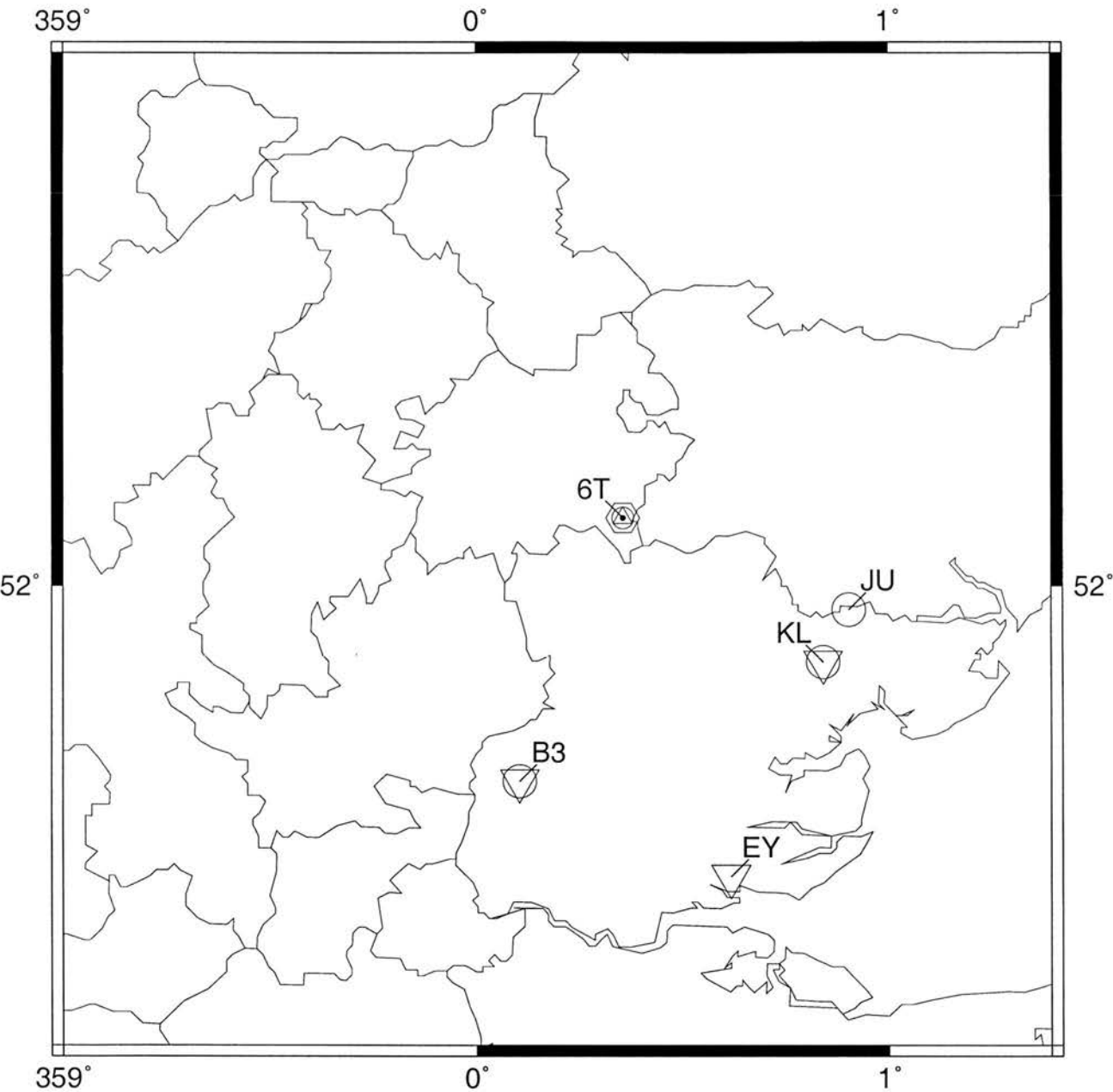
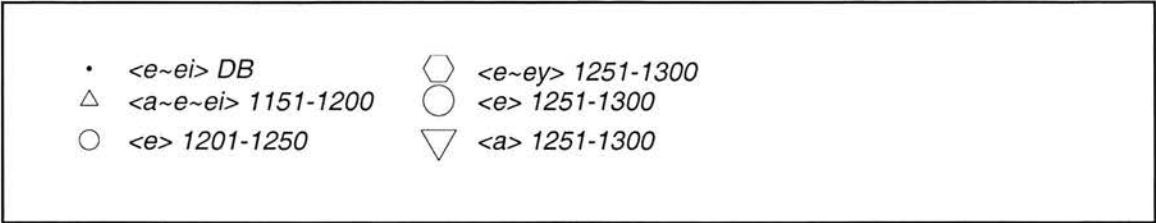
Two names with MEAD- are shown on the map: K7 in ESS with <e> in the period 1201-1250 and QV in HRT with <e> and <a> in the period 1251-1300.

Two names with SEA- are shown on the map: 9G in CAM with <e> in the period 1251-1300 and IH in ESS with <a> in DB, <e> in the period 1201-1250 and <a> from 1251 to 1300. One name, *Se(e)dic(h)(e)* in ELY, found with <e> in the first half of the 13th century is not shown on the map because it could not be localised.



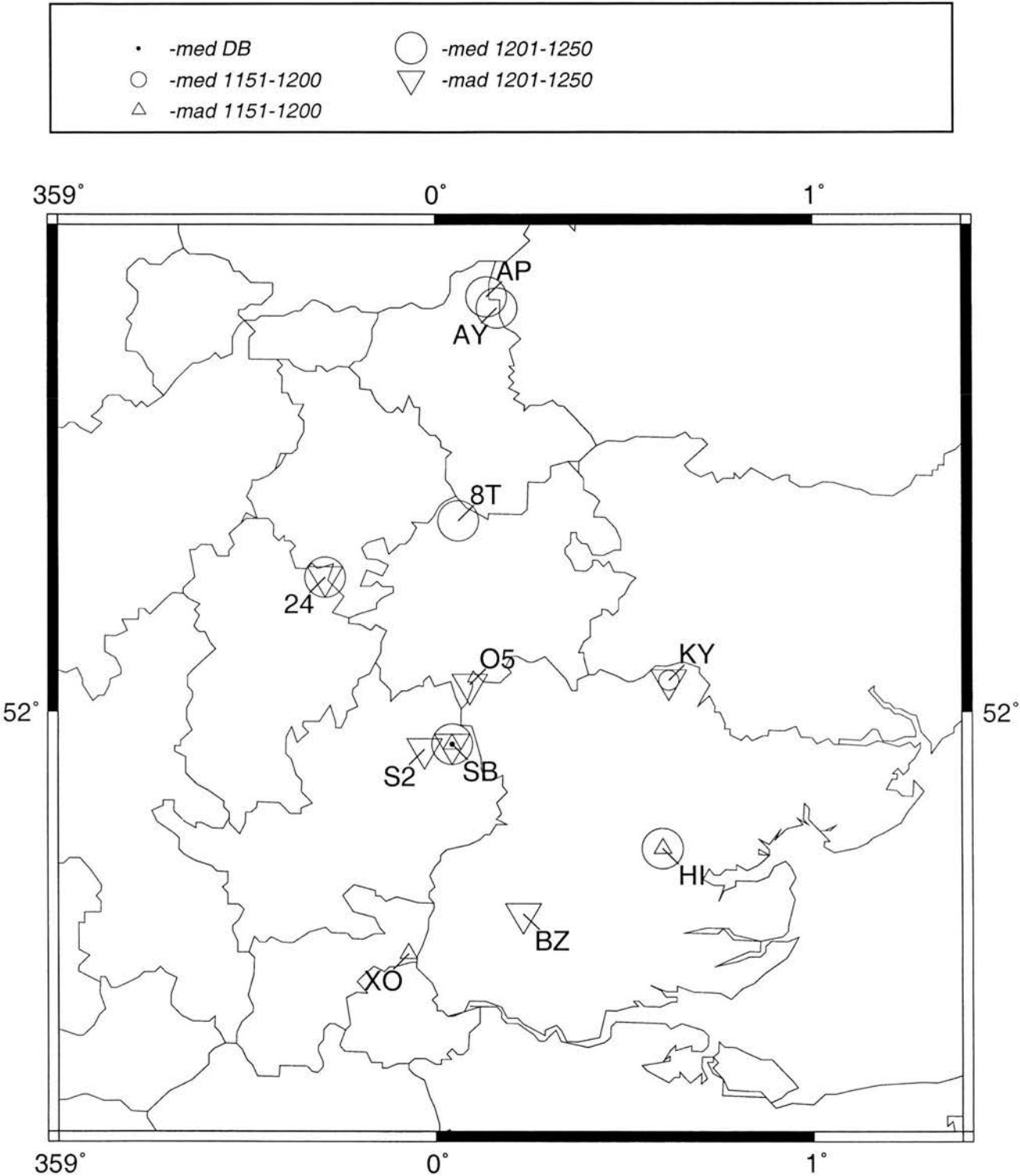
Map 33: History of -HEATH (in name non-initial position) in DB, 12th and 13th centuries.

Two -HEATH names are recorded at location B3 in ESS, EPPING with <e> and AMBERSBURY BANKS with <a>. HEATH- appears also in name-initial position in names represented by EY and JU, see Map 31 (p. 208).



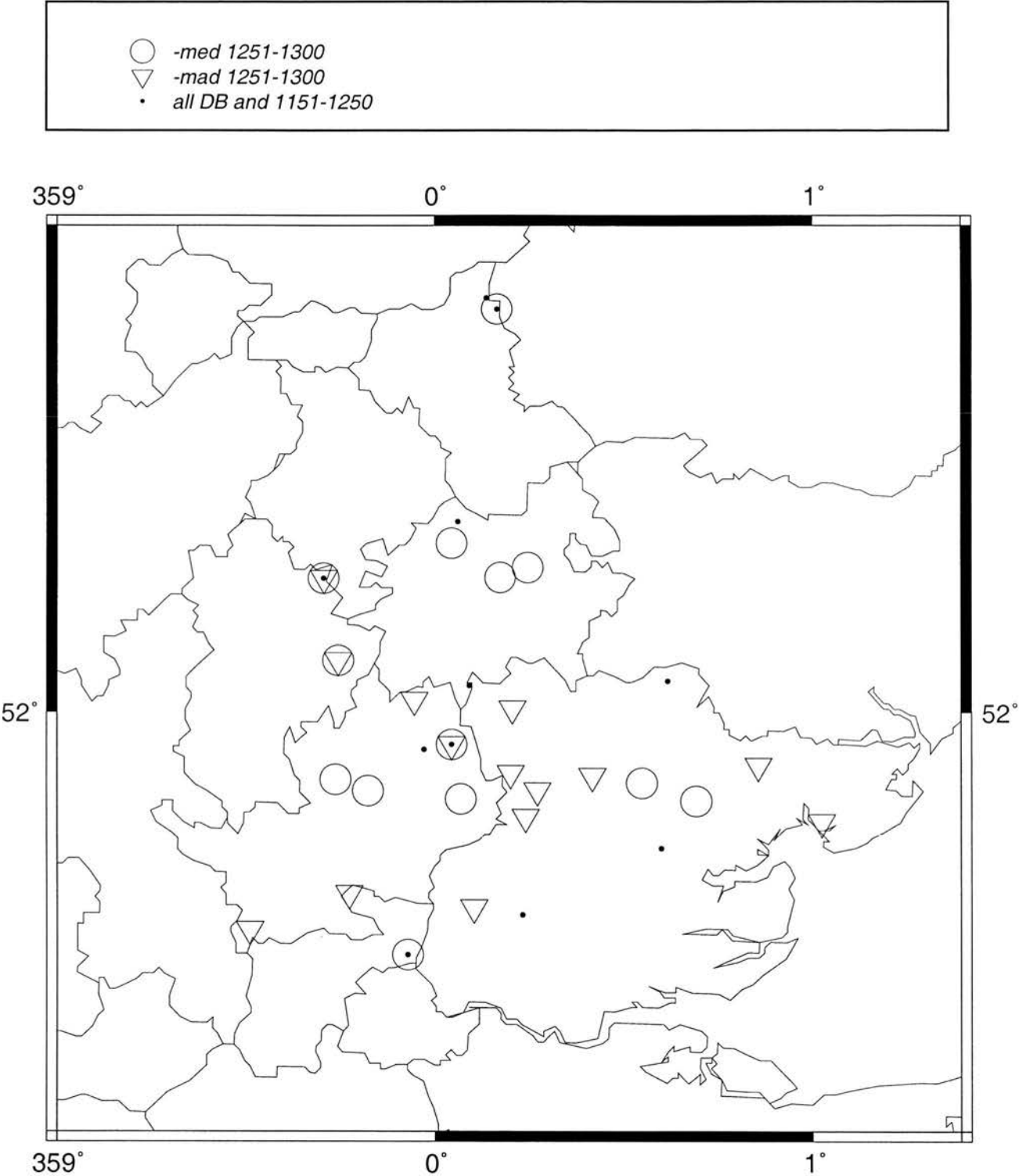
Map 34: History of -MEAD (in name non-initial position) from 1151 to 1250 (and in DB).

Two different -MEAD names are attested at location HI in ESS, MARSHALLS with <a> in the second half of the 12th century and GRAY'S FM with <e> in the first half of the 13th century.



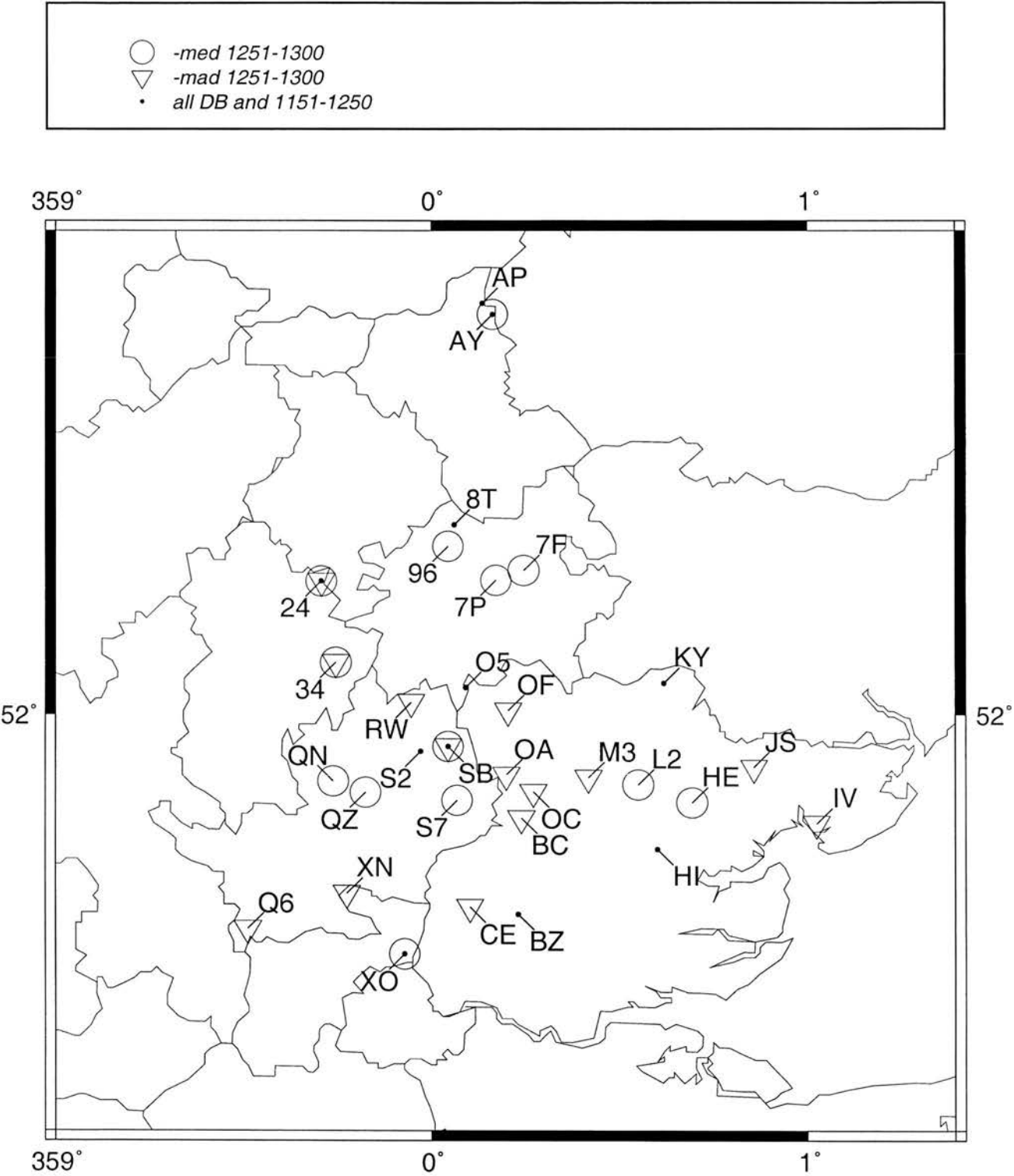
Map 35: History of -MEAD (in name non-initial position) from 1251 to 1300 with locations from 1151-1250 (and in DB) for reference.

Two names are recorded at two locations in HRT, see Map 35a (p. 213) for details.



Map 35a: History of -MEAD (in name non-initial position) from 1251 to 1300 with locations from 1151-1250 (and in DB) for reference and with IDs for identification of individual place names.

Two names are recorded at location Q6 with <a> (*Aldeburymade* and *le Brodemade*) and at location RW also with <a> (*Wellemade* and *WELL MEAD*) in HRT. The name *Gretemedede*, attested in the parish AY in ELY, is different to the one indicated in the preceding periods, see Table 32 (p. 203) above.



### 4.4.3 Discussion

The data tables above show differences between the three items *HEATH*, *MEAD* and *SEA* investigated. There are many more place names, and many more attestations of the names with *HEATH*- in name-initial position compared to non-initial position. The distribution of *HEATH*, and in particular of the spelling *hath*, could indicate that the item had restricted geographical coverage, namely in ESS and in the border areas of the adjacent counties of MDX, HRT and CAM; see Map 29 (p. 206), Map 30 (p. 207), Map 31 (p. 208) and Map 33 (p. 210) above. *MEAD* data is different, only two names, one in each half of the 13th century, are attested in name-initial position as opposed to many names found in non-initial position. *SEA* is the least frequently occurring item and is found only in name-initial position: see the discussion below.

#### Items in name-initial position.

##### History of *HEATH*-.

*HEATH*- is attested in sixteen names in name-initial position in DB, the 12th and the 13th century. Four names are found with <a> in DB: two in ESS (BC and HI), one in HRT (S7) and one in MDX (WD).<sup>150</sup> The fifth name found in DB is recorded with the interchangeable spellings <a> and <e> in HRT (QY). All these names are also attested later in the period investigated. BC (in ESS) and QY (in HRT) are recorded throughout the 12th and the 13th century. BC is found with <a> and <e> in both halves of the 12th century and QY has the spelling with <e> in the first half of the 12th century and <a> in the second half. There is also one attestation of QY with <æ>. However, the spelling, (*æt*) *Hæðfælda*, may be archaic as it comes from a 12th century copy of a will dated to c. 970 in the source ASWills. A new name, EY in ESS, is attested with <a> in the first half of the 12th century. It appears with <a> in 1101-1150 and also in 1151-1200. Two further names first recorded in DB are attested in the period 1151-1200: HI (in ESS) spelt with <a> and <e> interchangeably, and S7 (in HRT) attested with <e>. The 12th century attestations come from central sources, those with <a> from P, those with <e> from P and RBE. Both <a> and <e> are also attested in undecided sources; <a> occurs in: AC, Dugd, FF and WDB, whereas <e> is found in AddCh, BM and FF. The distribution of the *HEATH*- names in DB and the 12th century is shown on Map 29 (p. 206).

There are eight names attested in the first half of the 13th century, seven are spelt exclusively with <a> (BC, EY, HI, JU, Q3, S7 and WD) and one (QY) with <a> and <e> interchangeably. JU (in ESS) and Q3 (in HRT) appear for the first time in this corpus in

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<sup>150</sup> HATTON, WD is also spelt with <ai> *Haitone* in DB.



this sub-period, the remaining names appear earlier too. The names come mostly from central and undecided sources; the central ones include Ch, Cl, For, Lib, Pat and RBE, whereas CottCh, Dugd, Fees, FF and KCD are among the undecided sources. One attestation with <a> (for EY in ESS) comes from LSR. The distribution of the names with HEATH- found in the first half of the 13th century is shown on Map 30 (p. 207). The geographical distribution of the names is restricted to ESS, MDX and south and east HRT, near ESS and MDX borders.

Fifteen names are attested in the second half of the 13th century. Eight are new names, first attested in this corpus in this sub-period, four with the spelling <a> and four with <e>. Three names with <a> exclusively are located in HRT; two of them, *Alswyke* in *Hatfelde* and *Ludewyke juxta Hatfelde*, come from one parish (location QY in southern HRT).<sup>151</sup> The third new name with <a>, HADHAM PARK (S8), is attested in north-east HRT, close to the ESS border. The fourth name with <a> is attested in south-eastern ESS (CK). The names spelt exclusively with <e> are found in CAM (6B and 79), BED (3S) and in west HRT (Q4). Three names among those attested earlier appear with <a> in the period 1251-1300: WD in MDX, QY in HRT and EY in ESS. EY is once recorded also with <o> in an undecided source, Ass. One name, BC in ESS, is attested with <e> exclusively: however, it is spelt with <a> in the 14th century and in PDE. Three names are spelt with <a> and <e> interchangeably, HI in ESS, Q3 and S7 in HRT. Map 31 (p. 208) shows the distribution of the names attested with HEATH- in the second half of the 13th century. Interestingly, names attested with <e> for the first time in this corpus in this sub-period are located north and west of the area where names with <a> are located.

More records come from undecided and local sources in the second half of the 13th century compared to the first half. In particular, the new names with <e> mostly appear in local and undecided sources in BED, CAM and HRT. Local sources comprise: LSR (3S in BED and Q4 in HRT), ElyCouch and Ely (both attest 6B in CAM), whereas undecided sources comprise: Ass (3S in BED), Cl and Ipm (both attest BC in ESS). One new name with <a> CK (in ESS) is most likely recorded in a local source, EAS. The remaining names with <a>, both new names and those with earlier attestations, come from undecided sources: Ass, FF and Ipm. Likewise, the three names recorded with the interchangeable spellings <a> and <e> are attested most frequently in undecided sources.

<sup>151</sup> The third name in QY, is the parish name itself BISHOP HATFIELD and is also spelt with <a> in the period 1251-1300. It has a history of attestations from DB onwards, see the discussion above and Table 29 (p. 199) above.

### History of MEAD-.

Unlike HEATH-, there are hardly any attestations of MEAD- in name-initial position. Only two MEAD- names are attested: one in ESS and one in HRT. MEAD- is spelt with <e> in CHILLWELL MEADOW (K7 in ESS) in the first half of the 13th century and with <a> and <e> interchangeably in MAYDENCROFT FM (OV in HRT), spelling *Medcroft*, *Madecroft*, in the second half of the 13th century. Both K7 and OV are attested in an undecided source, FF. The location of the two names is shown on Map 32 (p. 209); it is a shared map with item SEA-.

### History of SEA-.

SEA- is found in three place names only in the period investigated.<sup>152</sup> One name appears in ESS, IH (SAMPSON'S FM), with <a> in DB *Samantunā*, with <e> in *Semanneston*, in the first half of the 13th century and with <a> in *Samanton(e)*, in the second half. One name with <e>, *Se(e)dic(h)(e)*, is recorded in ELY in the first half of the 13th century. It is a name of a bank, its location is uncertain and is not shown on the map. One name with <e> *Se(e)lode*, *Seuelodes*, is recorded in CAM (9G, WET and DRY SEALODES) in the second half of the 13th century. The distribution of the localisable names with SEA- is given on Map 32 (p. 209); it is a shared map with item MEAD-.

### Items in name non-initial position.

#### History of -HEATH.

There are significantly fewer names with -HEATH in non-initial position than in name-initial position: six compared to sixteen, see Table 32 (p. 203) and Table 29 (p. 199). One place name is attested in DB, the second half of the 12th century and throughout the 13th century and the remaining five appear only in the second half of the 13th century. HORSEHEATH (6T in CAM), is the name with a longer history of attestations. It is found with the spellings <ei> and <ey> alongside <e> and <a>, with forms such as *Horeseia*, *-ey(e)*, *-eya*, *Horesathe*, *Horset(e)*, *Horsede* throughout the period investigated. Two names listed, EY and JU in ESS, also appear in name-initial position, the former with <a>, the same spelling as when it appears in name-initial position, and the latter with <e>: it has <a> in name-initial position. Two further names (both in the parish B3) incorporate one -HEATH name: EPPING with the spelling <e> *Eppynge(h)eth(e)*, and AMBERSBURY BANKS with the spelling <a> *castrum de Eppynghatthe*. STANWAY HEATH (KL in ESS) attests -HEATH with the interchangeable spelling <a> and <e>: John *Attehethe de Stanwey*, and *Stanweyhath*. The distribution of the names is shown on Map

<sup>152</sup> Interestingly, a number of names with *-sea* as a place-name element in PDE have OE *eg* 'island' in the period under investigation.

33 (p. 210). The numbers are low, the names represent the type of variation found for this variable in this period: <a> exclusively, <e> exclusively, <a> and <e> interchangeably, as well as an unexpected interchangeable <e> and <ei> spelling. They are located in ESS, and the name in CAM is near the ESS border.

### History of -MEAD.

Almost all attestations of MEAD are in name non-initial position: thirty-five names in total compared to two names in initial position only; discussed above. There is one name attested with -MEAD in name non-initial position in DB, HORMEAD (SB), spelling with <e> *Horemade*. There are no names found in the first half of the 12th century. Four names are found in the second half of the 12th century. SB is attested again, with <a>, different spelling to the earlier attestation with <e>. Additionally, two other names are spelt with <a>, *Smalemade* (HI, MARSHALLS) in ESS<sup>153</sup> and (*le*) *Brademade* (XO, BROAD MEAD) in MDX: both attestations come from FF. The fourth name, *Holemade* (KY, HOLE FM) in ESS, is attested with <e> in StP, an undecided source. The geographical distribution of these names is shown on Map 34 (p. 211) above.

Ten names with -MEAD appear in the first half of the 13th century. Four names are recorded with <a> exclusively. Three are found in ESS: *holemad* BZ, and [*Hole-*] *-mad* KY (both places are now called HOLE FM), *Langemade* (O5, LANG MEAD FIELD), and one in HRT, *Remade* S2 (REE MEAD). Four names are found with <e> exclusively, two in ELY, *Longemedwes* (AP, LONG MEADOW FIELD), and *Smalemedwe* (AY, SMALL MEADOW FIELD), one in CAM, *Westmede* (8T) and one in ESS, *Gavelmed(e)* (HI, GRAY'S FM).<sup>154</sup> Three of the four names with <a> appear for the first time in this corpus in this sub-period (BZ, O5 and S2). All four names with <e> also appear for the first time in this sub-period. Spellings with <a> and <e> in the above names are found in central and undecided sources. Two names, SB in HRT, and 24 in BED are found with the interchangeable spelling <a> and <e>. <a> and <e> in HORMEAD (SB) come from a central source RBE, dated to different years, as well as from different undecided sources. Both <a> and <e> in BUSHMEAD (24) are attested in Ass, dated to the same year, 1227. Additionally, there are several attestations of <e> in BUSHMEAD in various undecided sources, BM, Fees, FF and Ipm. Map 34 (p. 211) shows the distribution of the names found in the first half of the 13th century together with the preceding sub-periods.

<sup>153</sup> The name *Smalemade* is accompanied by a note “altered to *Smalelande*” (EPNS XII: 289); this is more significant for the study of the history of the name than for the present investigation into spelling and phonology.

<sup>154</sup> There are two -MEAD names at location HI: MARSHALLS in the second half of the 12th century and GRAY'S FM in the first half of the 13th century.

Thirteen names are spelt exclusively with <a> and ten names exclusively with <e> in the second half of the 13th century. All the names with <a> and nine names with <e> are attested for the first time in this sub-period. Table 32 (p. 203 above) shows which names are attested only in this sub-period and which ones are also attested in earlier sub-periods. ESS has eight names spelt exclusively with <a> (BC, CE, IV, JS, M3, OA, OC and OF) and two exclusively with <e> (HE and L2); all these names appear for the first time in this corpus in the period 1251-1300. All the names but one found in HRT in this sub-period also appear for the first time in this corpus after 1250. There are five <a> names (locations RW and Q6 attest two names each and XN) and three <e> names (QN, QZ and S7) among these new names. The only name attested in ELY and all three names attested in CAM in this sub-period are new names too; all four are spelt with <e> exclusively (7F, 7P and 96 in CAM and AY in ELY).<sup>155</sup> One name in MDX, OX, that appears earlier with <a>, is found with <e> in the second half of the 13th century. SB in HRT and 24 in BED continue with the interchangeable spelling <a> and <e>. A third name, 34 in BED is also found with <a> and <e>. The distribution of the names with -MEAD in the second half of the 13th century is shown on Map 35 (p. 212 and Map 35a p. 213, with parish ID tags for ease of identification of individual names).

When we compare the forms of -MEAD found in both halves of the 13th century: Map 35 (p. 212) and Map 34 (p. 211), we can see that spellings with <a> are prevalent in ESS and in HRT, even in the names that are first attested after 1250. It is possible that these names had been in use for a long time before they were first written down and their spelling reflects an earlier (and local) feature in the development of -MEAD. The presence of <e> exclusively in other names, in the same period, most likely reflects new names, coined at a different time. Also, infrequent attestation of interchangeable spellings with <a> and <e> point to the existence of two different groups of names, most likely members of different historical (and linguistic) strata. There is further discussion of <a> and <e> in section 4.4.5 below.

Eighteen place names that preserve the item -MEAD in PDE have the standard spelling, *mead* and less often, *meadow*. However, fourteen names do not have MEAD as a place-name element in PDE (and three place names do not survive to the present day): nine names attested in ESS, four names found in HRT and one name in CAM are in this group. They all are minor names.

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<sup>155</sup> Two different names are attested in this parish in each half of the 13th century: *Gretemedwe* in the second half and *Smalemedwe* in the first half.

#### 4.4.4 Other item features

##### Stopping of fricatives.

All the names with *HEATH-* that are attested for the first time before the 13th century are spelt with a stop consonant *-d* or *-t* instead of the final fricative, resulting in the forms *HADHAM* (S7), *HADLEIGH* (EY), *HATFIELD* (BC, HI, QY) and *HATTON* (WD). These forms also appear in PDE.

##### h-dropping.

H-dropping is recorded in three names with *HEATH-* in ESS: *Edfelda* 1135-54 AddCh in *HATFIELD BROAD OAK* (BC), *Affeudpeverel* 1235 FF in *HATFIELD PEVEREL* (HI), and *Alegh* 1254 Ass in *HADLEIGH* (EY); all three are recorded in undecided sources. The earliest example comes from the middle of the 12th century. H-dropping has been mentioned in the discussion of h-addition (insertion) in names with *OAK*, see section 4.2.4 (p. 111) and section 4.3.4 (p. 187) above.

##### l-vocalisation.

Two of the names in ESS that show h-dropping above, *HATFIELD BROAD OAK* (BC) and *HATFIELD PEVEREL* (HI), also provide examples of l-vocalisation: [*Had-*] *-feud* 1241 For, *Hetfeud'* 1251 Cl attested in the former, and *Affeudpeverel* 1235 FF, *Hatfeud* 1254 Ass, *Hatfeud Peverel* 1277 EHR found in the latter. This phenomenon occurs in other names: for details see examples discussed in 4.3.4 (p. 187) above and in 4.6.3 (p. 233) below.

#### 4.4.5 Dating the change of OE /æ:/ to /a:/

Etymologically /æ:/ in OE *hæp* and *sæ* is classified as OE  $\text{æ}_2$  (*i*-umlaut of earlier OE /a:/, from Gmc \*/ai/), whereas /æ:/ in *mæd(we)* belongs to  $\text{æ}_1$  (from WGmc \*/a:/) (Hogg 1992a §5.79). Both  $\text{æ}_1$  and  $\text{æ}_2$  are likely to have been present in Old English in the area of South-East Midlands, due to West-Saxon influences there. However, the vicinity of Kentish should also be borne in mind, where both  $\text{æ}_1$  and  $\text{æ}_2$  were raised to  $\text{ē}$  (Hogg 1992a §3.24 note 1 and §5.190-191). In Middle English, especially in the 13th century, a special development is reported in /æ:/, namely a change to /a:/ represented by the spelling <a>, in ESS, HRT and at least parts of BED, CAM and HUN. MDX is included by Bohman (1944). This /a:/ is believed to be different in quality to OE /a:/, as it did not change

to /ɔ:/ (e.g.: *stan* > *ston*) in early Middle English. Interestingly, there is one example of <o> spelling *Hodleye*, in an undecided source Ass, in the second half of the 13th century, alongside numerous <a> forms *Hadleg(a)*, (HADLEIGH, EY in ESS) in the corpus.

Jordan (Jordan-Crook 1974: §50) dates the development of *æ* to *ā* to the beginning of the 13th century, simultaneously with a change of *æ* to /ɛ:/ in the territory of southern England. The ousting of *ā* by /ɛ:/ or Anglian *ē* took place by the 14th century. Based on this assumption, Ek (1975), for example, limits his search to the 13th century place names. However, the EPNS corpus investigated here provides earlier examples of <a> dated to DB and the 12th century: see Map 29 (p. 206) and Map 34 (p. 211). The numbers are not as high as in the 13th century: see Map 30 (p. 207), Map 31 (p. 208), Map 33 (p. 210) and Map 35 (p. 212), but that is true about every variable tested in the 12th and the 13th century. It is possible that the paucity of data in the 12th century and a general increase of the amount of data in the 13th may have contributed to scholars finding the evidence only in the 13th century and assuming that *ā* for *æ* was a 13th century change.

Some instances of <a> in the EPNS corpus may be indicative of a short vowel, which could be due to shortening of either *æ* or *ā*. However, *ā* for *æ* is present in the area in early Middle English; <a> indicating a long vowel, is attested in *Poema Morale*, *Trinity Homilies* (Laing and McIntosh 1995) and other early Middle English texts in the South-East Midlands.

There are also examples of early <e> spellings, either exclusively or interchangeably with <a> in the data, in HEATH in DB and in both halves of the 12th century and in -MEAD in DB and in the second half of the 12th century. Graph <æ> is only attested once in one name BISHOPS HATFIELD (QY in HRT) although it was in general use until the 13th century (Lass 1992: 37). HEATH would have been spelt with <e> in Kentish, and -MEAD in Kentish and in Anglian from the times of Old English.

Kitson (1998) suggests that *ā* for *æ* is a relic feature of the “old south-east” (defined in Kitson 1995: 58) and dates it as far back as the first wave of East Saxon settlements in the fifth and the sixth centuries. On linguistic grounds, he places *ā* before the emergence of *æ*<sub>2</sub> (i-umlaut of OE /a:/).<sup>156</sup> Kitson's arguments (1998) make for a neat explanation and

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<sup>156</sup> Kitson follows the German tradition (cf. Jordan-Crook 1974 and Luick 1914-40 [1964]) and labels this sound *æ*<sub>1</sub>; see Footnote 11 (p. 17) about the convention followed in this thesis.



do away with an awkward situation of having two sound changes going in the opposite directions in the same area at the same time, but need more early data. The place names with <a> found in this corpus pre-date the ones in Ek (1975) by about a century and to a small extent begin to bridge the gap between Kitson's position and the traditional view.

#### 4.4.6 Summary conclusions

HEATH- names resemble STONE- names in having three layers of names noticeable: archaic, old but subject to change, and new. The archaic stratum in HEATH- is represented by names with <a> from DB and the 12th century. They were most likely non-transparent and not subject to modification; they are spelt HADHAM, HADLEIGH and HATFIELD in PDE. A layer of new names appears in the second half of the 13th century with <e> exclusively; these names have the PDE spelling with *heath*. A third group of names shows variable spellings <a> and <e> throughout the 12th and the 13th centuries: some have HEATH, others have HAT/HAD in the PDE form of their names.

-MEAD names are attested in name non-initial position: the bulk of the data comes from the 13th century. Both <a> and <e> are attested, and like in HEATH- summarised above, each spelling type most likely reflects a different stratum: <a> archaic and <e> new. ESS and HRT have the spelling with <a> predominantly, while CAM and ELY attest <e> exclusively. Not many names show interchangeable <a> and <e> spelling in the same sub-period: there are two such names in BED, one in HRT and one in MDX.

There is predominance of both HEATH- and -MEAD names with <a> in ESS. This confirms that the development is Essex-centred. The new attestations with <a> in the 13th century do not necessarily indicate that the names were newly created, they may have been in use for a long time before they were first written down.

SEA is conspicuous by its absence. Three names are attested with SEA- in the period of two hundred years: one in ESS, with the interchangeable <a> and <e> spellings, one in CAM and one in ELY, both with <e>.



## 4.5 General Discussion of Vowels

The presentation of data by sub-periods is a convenient data management mechanism. We can confirm from the numbers of names in the tables and on the maps that there is increase in the amount of data in each fifty-year sub-period. Furthermore, the larger the number of place names the more variation there is. While it is true that not every variable examined above shows the same levels of activity in each sub-period, looking at the data in short sections allows us to observe changes in progress. For example, we can see from the tables that summarise the type of variation recorded that items with OE /y/ and /æ:/ attest variable spellings earlier than those with OE /ɑ:/.<sup>157</sup> Additionally, while items with OE /ɑ:/ in name-initial position remain largely unchanged until 1200, they already show variable spellings in non-initial position in DB and in both halves of the 12th century. The changing proportions of <i> and <u> in -BURY are captured by separating the data belonging to each half of the 13th century (see Map 24 p. 157 and Map 25 p. 159). However, we have to remember that we deal with a continuum in time and space (e.g. Benskin 1994) and the sub-divisions are not to be the focus but an aid to the analysis.

Some general trends may be observed:

- The change of OE /ɑ:/ to eME /ɔ:/ occurs on the whole area examined, as was anticipated. In that sense, it is not a dialect discriminating feature in the South-East Midlands. However, the timing of the change and the geographical spread are of interest. <o> for <a> is attested earlier in HUN, BED, HRT, and MDX compared to ESS and CAM, as shown on Map 2 (p. 77) and Map 3 (p. 79). This may indicate the direction of the actuation of the change from west to east. By 1300 there is strong <o> presence in ESS and an attestation in CAM too.
- The reflexes of OE /y/ point to ESS as the centre of <e> spelling in the area investigated; MDX, east HRT, and south CAM have noticeable proportions of <e> too. BED and west HRT show more <u> and <i> than <e>, whilst HUN, ELY and north CAM have more <i> than <e> or <u>. Overall, <i> and <u> are on the increase with time while <e> is on the decrease: however, the developments are item specific as demonstrated in the discussion in section 4.3 above.
- The <a> for OE /æ:/ is centred in ESS and the adjacent areas: counties of MDX, south and east HRT in DB, the 12th and 13th centuries. The forms with <a> also occur in

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<sup>157</sup> Table 1 p. 60, Table 4 p. 68, Table 13 p. 125, Table 16 p. 132, Table 27 p. 196, Table 30 p. 200.

names attested for the first time in the 13th century, as shown on Map 30 (p. 207), Map 31 (p. 208) and Map 35 (p. 212). However, differences between the two items analysed, *HEATH* and *MEAD*, are observable.

The results confirm Gillieron's century-old observation: "chaque mot a son histoire" that every word has its own history. This is observable in each variable tested OE /a:/, /y/ and OE /æ:/. For example, the histories of *OAK*- and *STONE*-, both attesting reflexes of OE /a:/, are different. The numbers of names are different: ten names with *OAK*- as opposed to forty-eight names with *STONE*-. *OAK*- is mostly attested in the 13th century, while *STONE*- is well attested throughout the whole period, with the amount of data on the increase with time. The amount of variation in the two items is also different, Map 4 (p. 83) and Graph 1 (p. 119) show spellings attested in *OAK*-, whereas Map 8 (p. 87 and Map 8a p. 88) and Graph 3 (p. 121) show the attestations for *STONE*-. *BRIDGE*, *BURY* and *MILL* are also different from each other, as shown in the tables and on the maps in section 4.3 above. By the end of the 13th century, *-BRIDGE* in name non-initial position has the majority <i> spelling (see Map 19, p. 151 and Map 19a, p. 152), *-BURY* appears with <u> predominantly (see Map 25, p. 159 and Map 25a, p. 160), and *MILL* still shows preference for <e> in both name-initial and non-initial position (see Map 15, p. 147 and Map 26, p. 161).

There are differences in the numbers of attestations in the selected items in name-initial position as opposed to name non-initial position. There are significantly more place names with *-BRIDGE*, *-RIDGE* and *-BURY* in name non-initial position than in initial position; whereas the numbers of *BROAD*-, *OAK*- and *STONE*- are much higher when the items appear in name-initial position compared to non-initial position. The items attesting OE /æ:/, *HEATH* and *MEAD*, are different from each other: *HEATH*- is better attested name-initially, whereas *-MEAD* appears almost exclusively in non-initial position. One item, *MILL* is attested in almost equal numbers of place names in the initial position and in non-initial position.

Relative chronology of changes:

- <a> for OE /æ:/ is present in DB and in the 12th century
- <i> and <u> for OE /y/ and /e/ (derived from /y/) appear before <o> for OE /a:/
- the change of OE /a:/ to eME /ɔ:/ and the appearance of <e> for OE /æ:/ seem to both occur in the 13th century, the former manifested with the exclusive <o> spelling, and the latter with the exclusive <e> spelling in new names.

The changes are not implemented uniformly; there are examples of archaic, pre-change spellings, for each variable, and each item in the place-name corpus up to the end of the 13th century and in PDE.

STAMBRIDGE in ESS (FF) attests both OE /a:/ and /y/. The tuples are as follows:

*Stanbruge* 1086 DB, *Stanbrige* 1087 MS Lambeth 1212, *Stanbruge* 1196 [FF], *Stanbruge* 1206 FF, *-brig(ge) (Parva)* 1230 P, *(Magna)* 1248 Ass, *Great Staunbregg'* 1261, *Staumbrugge* 1279 FF

-BRIDGE is spelt with <u> in DB (1086) and with <i> in 1087. <u> is recorded in the second half of the 12th century, <u> and <i> interchangeably in the first half of the 13th century and <e> and <u> in the second half of the 13th century, STONE- is attested with <a> in DB, and until the middle of the 13th century, then <a> and <au> interchangeably appear in the second half of the 13th century. The PDE forms of the items: *stam* and *bridge* are also interesting.

4.6 Voicing of Initial Fricatives [f] and [s]

Several items were investigated for evidence of voicing of the fricative consonant [f] or [s] word-initially: FALCON, FARM, FEARR 'bull', FELLOW, FEN, FIELD, FINCH, FISH, FIVE, FORD, FORT, FORTH 'in front', FOX, FUGOL 'bird', SEA (*sa*), SEALH 'willow', and SEVEN. Only FALCON, FEN, FIELD, FIVE, and FOX appear with the spelling <v>, <u(u)> or <w> indicating voicing of the initial [f] in the period 1100-1300.<sup>158</sup> Additionally, other cases of initial fricative voicing were identified in the process of searching the corpus. These are: FABDENS, FINN-, FOWE-, all proper names, and SID- 'wide', (twi)-FYRDE 'double ford', and -SÆTE 'settlers'.<sup>159</sup> The results are presented in Table 33 below, and in more detail in Table 34 (p. 226) and Table 35 (p. 227). The data is also displayed on four distribution maps in section 4.6.2 below. The remaining sections are devoted to a discussion of the results.

4.6.1 Results

Voicing of initial [f] and [s] is indicated in spelling of a small number of items investigated, as can be seen from Table 33 below. Only one common place-name element, FEN, appears in more than one sub-period, in DB in name non-initial position, in the second half of the 12th century and the second half of the 13th century, in name-initial position. Three other items, two proper names, FINN- and FOWE-, and the item -FYRDE are each recorded in two sub-periods, each in one name only. FINN- is found in both halves of the 13th century, FOWE- appears in DB and in the second half of the 13th century and -FYRDE in DB and the first half of the 13th century.

Table 33: Items attested with voicing of initial fricatives [f] and [s] from 1100 to 1300 (and DB).

Position in name	DB 1086	1101- 1150	1151- 1200	1201-1250	1251-1300
name-initial	Fowe-		fen-	Finn-	Fabdens, falcon-, fen-, Finn-, five-, fox-, Fowe-, (OE) sid-
name non-initial	-fen, (OE) -fyrde -field			(OE) -fyrde	-ford, (OE) -sæte

158 There is one attestation of FELLOW with the spelling *Velawesfeld*, recorded in AD iii (name FELLOWSFIELD COMMON in HRT); however, the record is not dated (EPNS XV: 134).  
159 Fisiak (1994a) incorrectly includes John *Vis*, *Vys de Lu*, meaning 'wolf-face' (EPNS XII: 235), in his data for voicing of initial fricatives; the form presumably is ME *fac(e)* voiced to *vis*, *vys*. However, the name is French in origin, and contains OFr *vis* 'face, appearance' from Latin *visus* 'a look, vision'.

The items that were found with voicing of initial fricatives [f] and [s] are attested in one name only, except for FEN and -FORD, which are found in three names each in the whole period examined. Two names are attested with FEN- in name-initial position and one in name non-initial position, whereas -FORD appears only in name non-initial position in all the three names. With such low numbers, there are no county by county summary tables of the names attested, similar to Table 2 (p. 62) and Table 5 (p. 71) for data gathered for Old English /a:/, and corresponding tables for the other variables. This information can be obtained from Table 34 and Table 35 below and from Map 36 (p. 228).

Table 34 shows the history of spelling of the names attested with voicing of initial fricatives [f] and [s] in name-initial position from 1100 to 1300 (and in DB). There are only nine place names in total, one for each item attested, with the exception of FEN-, which occurs in two names (EP and FU in ESS). All the items are presented in one table because of the low numbers of names they are attested in.

Table 34: Initial fricative voicing – history of spelling of individual place names when items FABDENS, FALCON-, FEN-, FIN-, FIVE-, FOWE-, FOX-, SID- are in name-initial position.

Test items FABDENS, FALCON-, FEN-, FIN-, FIVE-, FOWE-, FOX-, SID-

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
CAM	63	f			f	v	FOXTON
ESS	BP	f		f	f	v	FYFIELD
	DI			s	s	s~z	BROOK STREET <i>Sedeburnebroke</i>
	EP		f	f	f	f~ph~v	VANGE (FEN-)
	FU	f~ph		f~w	f	f	FAMBRIDGE
	HH	f		f	f	f~w	FAULKBOURN
	KX	v				v~w	FOWE'S FM
HRT	SR					v	FABDENS
MDX	XW				f~v	f~v	FINSBURY
TOTAL	9						

There are even fewer names attested with the spelling indicating voicing of initial [f] and [s] when items appear in non-initial position in place names, compared to name-initial position, as indicated in Table 35 below. Five items -FEN, -FIELD, -FORD, (TWI)-FYRDE, and

-SÆTE, are recorded in the names below. -FORD is found in three names (C8, CS in ESS and T4 in HRT): the remaining four items are attested in one name each.

Table 35: Initial fricative voicing – history of spelling of individual place names when items -FEN, -FIELD, -FORD, (TWI)-FYRDE, -SÆTE, are in name non-initial position.

Test items -FEN, -FIELD, -FORD, OE (TWI)-FYRDE 'double ford', OE -SÆTE 'settlers'

County	ID	DB	12A	12B	13A	13B	PDE
CAM	5U	s		ss	c~s~ss ~sh	c~s~ss~z	GRANTCHESTER <i>Grantsete</i>
ESS	C8	f			f	f~v	STANFORD RIVERS
	CS	f		f	f	f~v	WOODFORD
	DQ	u			f	f~ph	BULPHAN (-FEN)
HRT	RW	v~uu	f	f	f	f	THERFIELD
	T4	f		f	f	f~v	BAYFORD
MDX	YH	v		f	f~v	f	TWYFORD (-FYRDE)
TOTAL	7						

4.6.2 Maps

The results for voicing of the initial fricative consonant [f] and [s] summarised in the tables in section 4.6.1 above, are presented on four maps in this section. The first three maps show the distribution of the consonants, whereas the fourth map displays special developments in the vowel in FEN.

Map 36: voicing of initial fricatives [f] and [s] from 1100 to 1300 (and in DB).

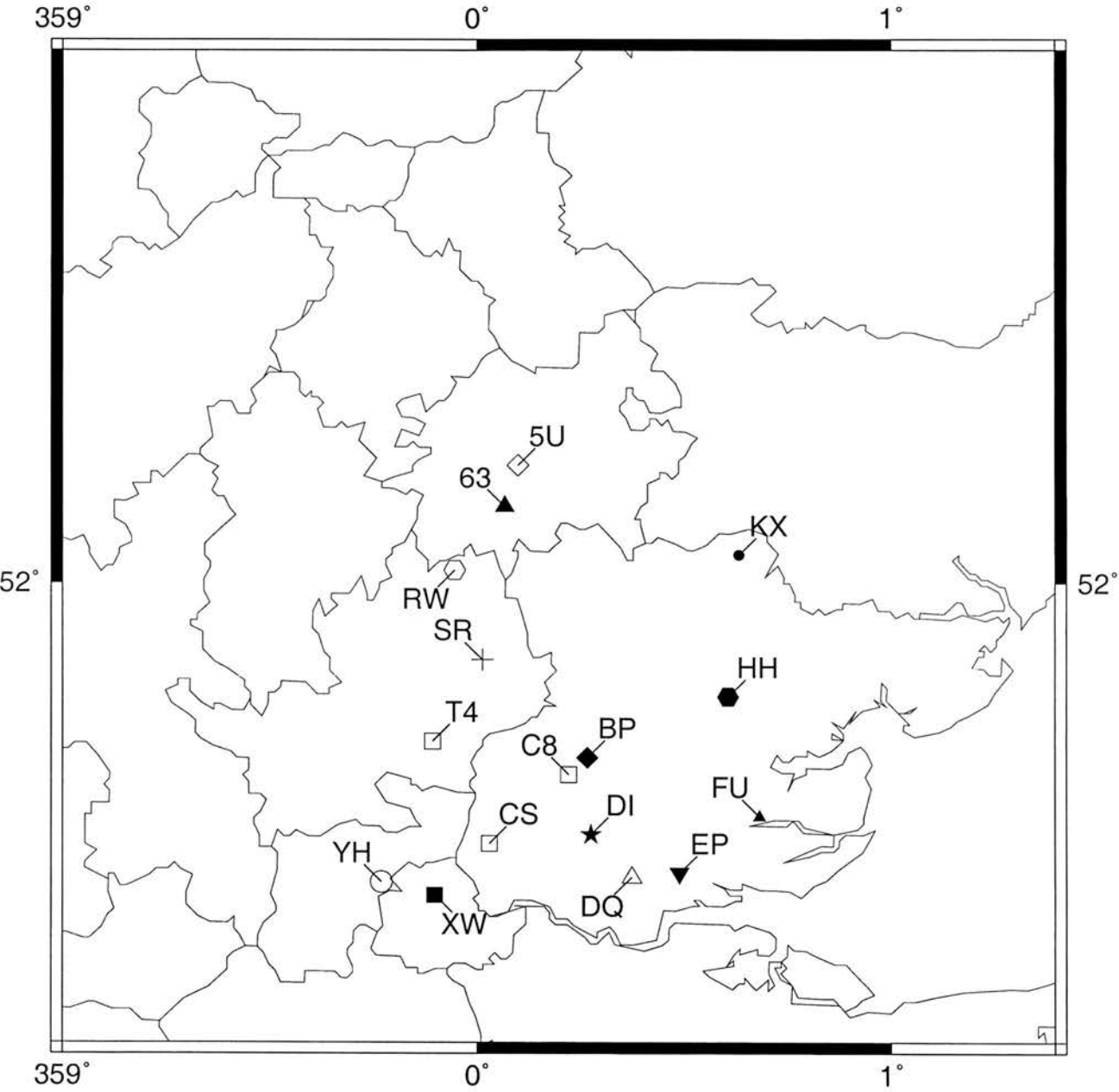
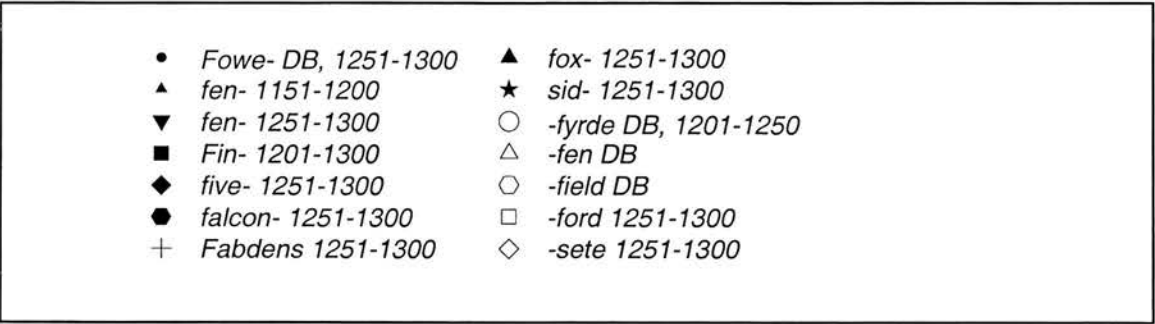
Map 37: distribution of -vord and -ford names from 1251 to 1300.

Map 38: distribution of fen- and ven- names in 1151-1200 and 1251-1300.

Map 39: distribution of <e> and <a> in names with FEN in DB, 12th and 13th centuries.

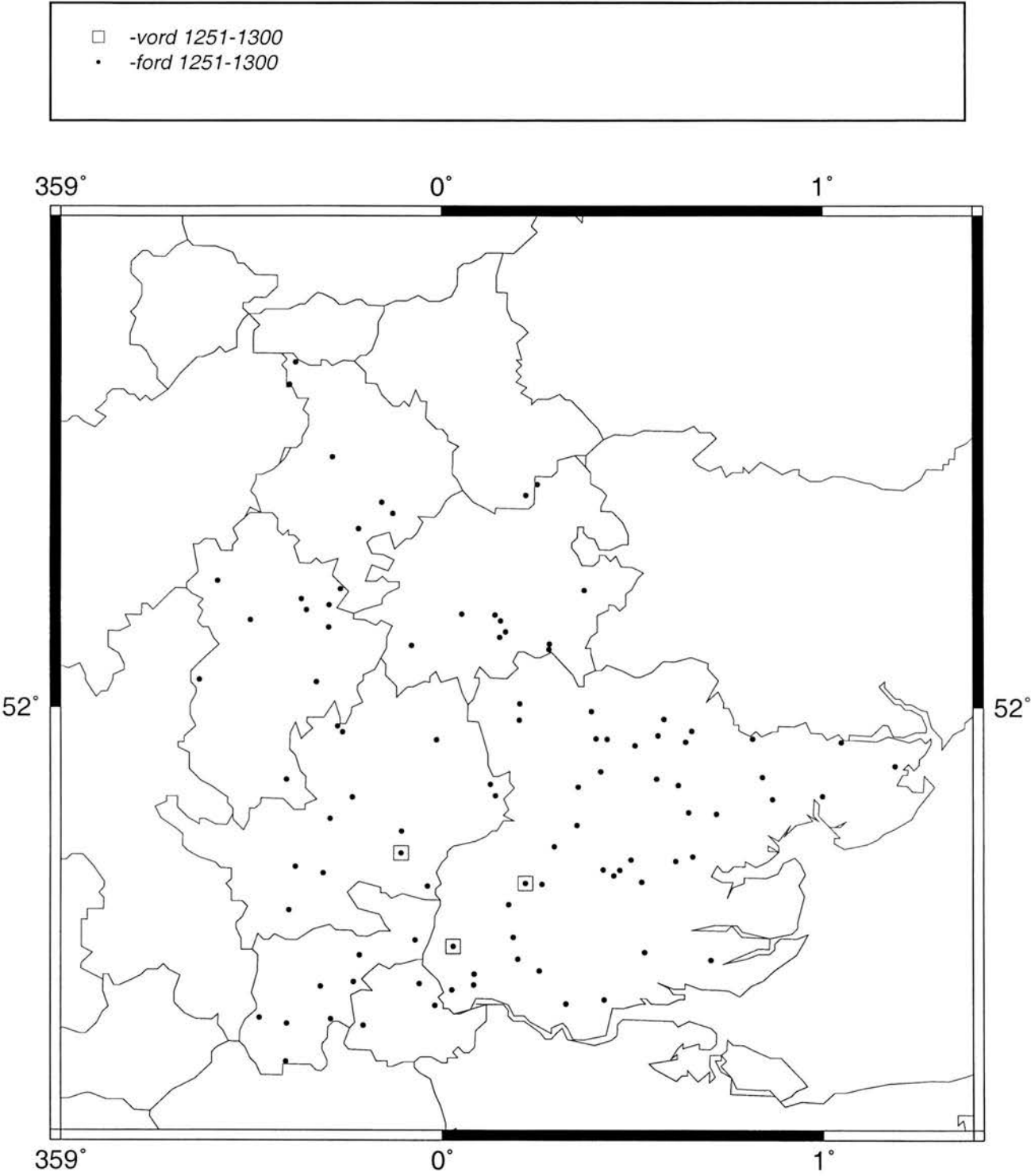
See the Key Map (p. 2) for the locations of the counties investigated. The use of more than one symbol for a given location on maps is explained below the list of maps in section 4.2.2 on p. 75 above.

Map 36: Voicing of initial fricatives [f] and [s] from 1100 to 1300 (and in DB).



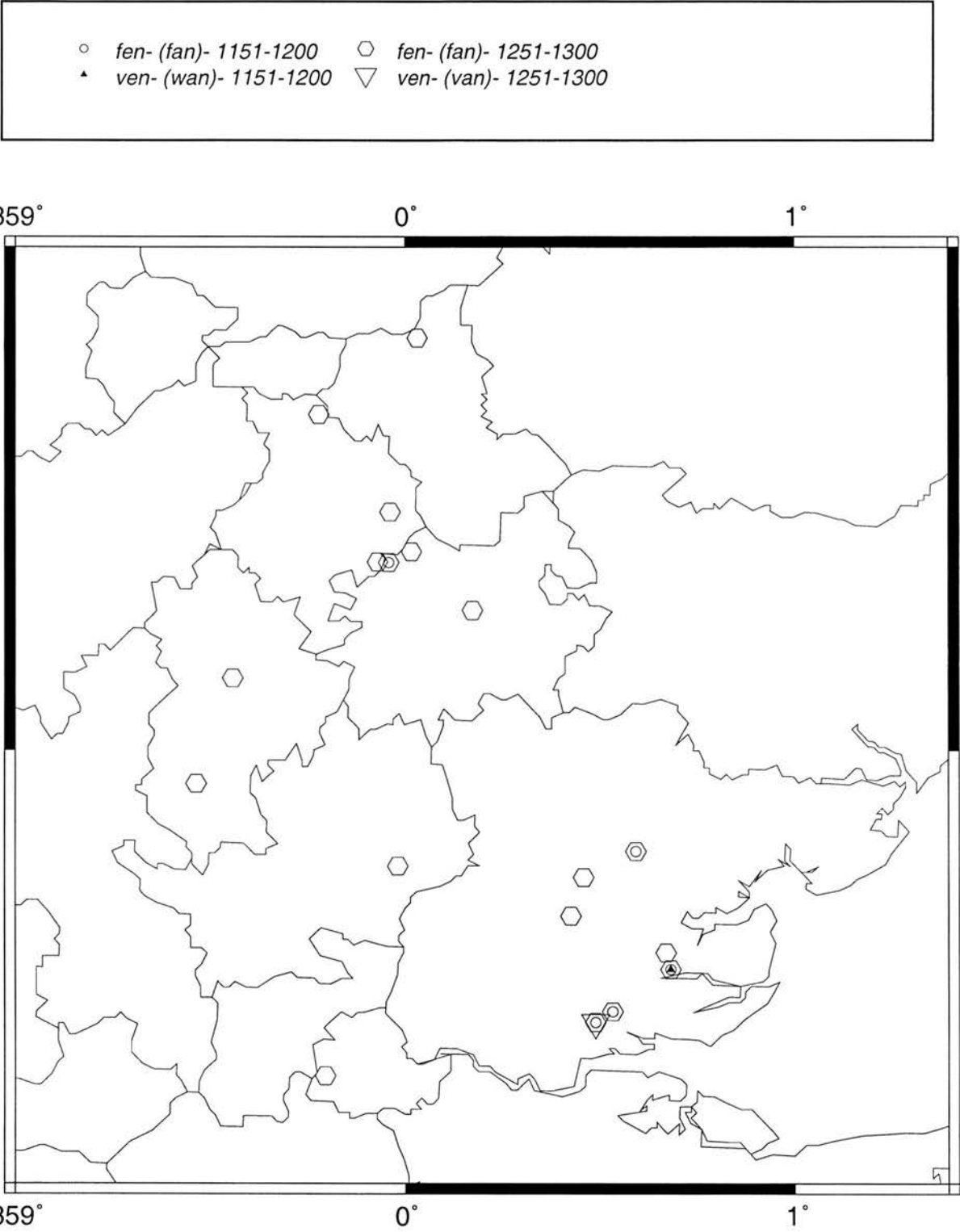


Map 37: Distribution of *-vord* and *-ford* names from 1251 to 1300.



Map 38: Distribution of *fen-* and *ven-* names in 1151-1200 and 1251-1300.

There are two place names recorded with voicing of initial [f], both in ESS. FAMBRIDGE (FU on Map 36 p. 228) in 1151-1200, represented by a solid triangle, and VANGE (EP also on Map 36 p. 228) in 1251-1300, represented by an inverted triangle. Both names also occur with <f>.



Map 39: Distribution of <e> and <a> in names with FEN in DB, 12th and 13th centuries.



### 4.6.3 Discussion

Voicing of initial fricatives [f] and [s] occurs in sixteen names in total in name-initial and non-initial position, in MDX, ESS, HRT and CAM. No attestations were found in BED, ELY or HUN. The distribution of the names is shown on Map 36 (p. 228). Voicing of initial fricatives is a word (foot) initial phenomenon, therefore both name-initial and non-initial position of the items were analysed. There are a few more items attested with voicing name-initially as opposed to name non-initially, eight and five respectively:

FABDENS, FALCON-, FEN-, FIN-, FIVE-, FOWE-, FOX-, SID- and -FEN, -FIELD, -FORD, -FYRDE, -SÆTE.

Nine names attest voicing of the items name-initially, as shown in Table 34 (p. 226), and seven names are found with the voicing name non-initially: see Table 35 (p. 227). Three items in name non-initial position (DQ in ESS, YH in MDX and RW in HRT) are attested with voicing in DB as opposed to one (KX in ESS) in name-initial position. The majority of the attestations come from the second half of the 13th century. The results obtained in the two positions do not show any striking differences.

Among the names with the items in initial position, forms with voiced consonants <v> and <z> are found in six names in the second half of the 13th century (BP, DI, EP, HH in ESS, SR in HRT, 63 in CAM): one more name with <w> appears in the second half of the 12th century (FU in ESS). Additionally, two names are found in two sub-periods: one with <v> (XW in MDX) in both halves of the 13th century, and the other one with <v> in DB and <v> and <w> in the second half of the 13th century (KX in ESS). Four items, in six names, in the non-initial position are attested in one sub-period and one is recorded in two sub-periods. Two names are recorded in DB, one with the spelling <u> (DQ in ESS) and the other one with <v> and <uu> (RW in HRT). Four names appear in the second half of the 13th century. Three of them record -FORD with <v> (C8 and CS in ESS and T4 in HRT) and one attests -SÆTE with <z> (5U in CAM). Finally, one name (YH in MDX) is recorded with <v> in DB and in the first half of the 13th century.

Voicing is attested in two kinds of place-name elements in the period investigated. One group consists of the items that appear infrequently in the data, for example FABDENS, FALCON, FIN, FIVE, FOWE, FOX, (TWI)-FYRDE or SÆTE. The other group comprises frequently occurring items, such as FEN, FIELD and FORD. Map 37 (p. 229) shows the distribution of the names with -FORD in the second half of the 13th century, the period in which -FORD is attested with the voicing of the initial [f]. As can be seen from the map, the names that are spelt with <v> also occur with <f>. There are three such names. This number contrasts with more than ninety place names attested with <f> exclusively in this sub-

period. The names with <f> are in fact recorded in over two hundred and sixty tuples (spelling, date and source sequences) in the database. Map 38 (p. 230) shows the distribution of <f>, <v> and <w> in FEN- in the sub-periods in which voicing is attested: the second half of the 12th century and the second half of the 13th. Although the numbers of names attested are lower than in the case of -FORD (and also compared to -FEN when in non-initial position in names), the trend is similar. Spellings with voiced consonants that point to voicing of initial fricatives are attested infrequently regardless of how frequently the item is attested.

The infrequent marking of voicing of initial fricatives, especially of <f>, is interesting in the light of numerous examples of <u> occurring intervocalically for OE /f/ [v] in the corpus. This demonstrates scribes' ability to differentiate in writing between the voiced and voiceless quality of the English sounds. Additionally, scribes' training in Latin and French made them familiar with the use of <f> and <v> word initially, as the voicing distinction was present and marked in both languages. It is likely that traditional spelling of English would have been followed at the early stages of phonemicisation of the /f/~/v/ contrast. Inconsistency of representing word initial /v/ in place names follows the patterns found in lexical evidence, indicated by LAEME data. Early Middle English is a period of particularly high variation in spelling. It is impossible to decide whether there is stigmatisation of a regional development such as the voicing of initial fricatives at that time. There are some early examples of critical comments about regional English, most notably, about the speech of the Northumbrians, especially from York, in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*, completed in 1125 (the comment is incorrectly attributed to Higden's *Polychronicon*).<sup>160</sup> The question of the status of the voicing of initial /f/ cannot be answered on the basis of the available evidence; however, future scholarship may shed some light on this subject.

### **Discussion Consonants: l-vocalisation.**

Item -FIELD shows l-vocalisation in THERFIELD (RW in HRT) in the second half of the 13th century, spelling: *Therefeud* (1267-85 AD i), *Terenfeud* (1278 Ass) and *Tyrefeud* (c. 1275 Gesta). Another example comes from item FALCON- in FAULKBOURN (HH in ESS), spelling *Faukeburn(e)* (1236 Fees and 1261-9 FF). Section 4.3.4 (p. 187) and section 4.4.4 (p. 219) above have examples of this process in other names.

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<sup>160</sup> Sisam (1921[1988]: 253) explains that Higden acknowledges his source: *Gesta Pontificum* by William of Malmesbury.

#### 4.6.4 Special developments in FEN

**Fan:** <a> for <e> before *n*.

All three names attested with the voicing of the initial [f] in FEN appear with vowels <e> and <a> interchangeably at some point in the period examined, either in DB, the 12th century or the 13th century. They all have <a> in the PDE form of the name. All three names appear in southern ESS and are represented by triangles on Map 36 (p. 228); they also feature on Map 39 (p. 231).

VANGE (EP) is spelt with <e> in DB and in the second half of the 12th century, and with <e> and <a> in both halves of the 13th century:

*Phenge* 1086 DB, *Fenge* 963 (12th) BCS 1102, 1254 Ass, a. 1272 Colch, 1274 FF, t.Ed I QW, *Fange* 1203, 1261 FF, 1255 Ass, 1291 For, *Fanga* 1291 Tax, *Fenges* 1238 SR, 1248 Ass, 1257-76 FF, 1285 QW, *Fanges* 1248 Ass, 1257 FF, *Vahnge* t. Hy 3 BM, *Phanges* 1299 Ch.<sup>161</sup>

FAMBRIDGE (FU) has <a>, interchangeably with <e>, as early as DB, and in each sub-period in which the name is attested: in the second half of the 12th century and in both halves of the 13th.

*Fanbruge* 1086 DB, *-brig(g)* 1234, 1258 FF,  
*Phenbruge* 1086 DB, *Fenbricge* 1086 InqEl *-brugg'* 1228 FF, *-brigg* 1264 Abbr,  
*Fambrugge* 1086 InqEl, *-brig(ge)* 1223, 1239 FF,  
*Wanbrige* 1185 RotDom, *Fanbruge* 11th (c. 1200) KCD, 907, 1042-66 (12th) LibEl,  
*Faumbrig* 1238 Pat, 1286 Ch, *f(f)ambreg(ge)* (*Parua*) 1285 Ass

BULPHAN (DQ) is attested with <e> in DB and in the first half of the 13th century, and with <e> and <a> in the second half; there are no attestations in the 12th century:

*Bulgeuen* 1086 DB, *Bur(e)g(h)efen* 1243, 1247 FF, *Bulchfen* 1248 Ass,  
*Bolegefanne* 1269 FF, *Bulhefan* 13th StJohn, *Buluefen* 1255 Ass, *Bulewephen* 1291 Tax,  
*Bulephen* 1291 Tax, *-fan* 1300 Abbr.

Several other names with FEN appear with <a>, either exclusively or interchangeably with <e>. <a> is attested in ESS in DB in one more name, in addition to FAMBRIDGE (FU)

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<sup>161</sup> VANGE is also spelt with <i>, <ie>, <æ> and <ey> in the 13th century: *Finges* 1203 Cur, *Fienges* 1223 FF, *Fanges* a. 1272 Colch, *ffeynge* 1285 Ass, *Feynge* 1286 FF.

discussed above.<sup>162</sup> Later <a> is found in ESS in each fifty-year sub-period investigated, more often in name-initial than in non-initial position. The attestation in CAM is recorded in the middle of the 13th century, the one in HRT at the end of the 13th century, and the name in BED is spelt with <a> in both halves of the 13th century. The distribution of <a> and <e> spellings is shown on Map 39 (p. 231).<sup>163</sup>

As can be seen on Map 39 (p. 231), the majority of names with <a> in FEN are located in ESS. This distribution agrees with the tendency observed by Ek (1975).<sup>164</sup> Spelling <a> for <e> before *n* is also attested in other place-name elements in this corpus: *brende* 'burnt', *Dene*, *denu* 'valley', *ende* 'end', *penning* 'penny', *wenn* 'hill', *wend* 'path'. Campbell (1959: §193 d) and Jordan (Jordan-Crook 1974: §33 rem. 1) attribute these forms to the preservation of the intermediate step with *æ* in words that originally had short *a* before a nasal, which underwent *i*-umlaut, resulting first in *æ* in early Old English, with a further change to *e* later in OE. *æ* remained until the early part of the 12th century" (Ek (1975: 8) in the South-East Midlands. Then it underwent the same spelling change to <a> as OE *æ*. It was replaced by *e* in the course of the 14th century, according to Ek (1975). Lass (1992: 37) dates the loss of <æ> to the 13th century. However, the forms with <a> found in the EPNS corpus are recorded earlier than is traditionally believed, namely in DB and in the 12th century. This links *fan* for FEN with *ā* for *æ* in HEAT, MEAD and SEA discussed in 4.4 above. In particular, see section 4.4.5 about the dating of the change.

#### **Item FEN- with <au> and -m.**

FAMBRIDGE (FU), discussed above, shows assimilation of the final consonant *n* to *m* in FEN- in the context of the following labial consonant which occurs word initially in the second element of the name. A few more names attested with <a> also have *m*: *Fambrige* 1186 StJohn (EPNS XII: 294), *ffambrigg* 1285 Ass (EPNS XII: 481). It is also recorded with a diagraph <au>, spelling *Faumbrig* 1238 Pat, 1286 Ch, both attestations in central sources. These processes also occur in some names with STONE-, see sections 4.2.3 (p. 99) and 4.2.4 (p. 112) above.

162 (North Benfleet, TQ7589, EPNS XII: 142) GREAT FANTON HALL (DN) *Phantuna*, -*ā*, *Fantuna* 1086 DB, *Fanton(a)*, -*e* 1103-16, 12th Crispin, 1117-1295 WDB.

163 For details of spellings of FEN names with <a> see: EPNS III: 137, EPNS XII: 142, 144, 166, 174, 214, 221, 294, 435, 613, EPNS XV: 208, EPNS XIX: 166.

164 Ek (1975) also finds examples with <a> in MDX (and in London).



#### 4.6.5 Summary conclusions

Voicing of initial [f] and [s] is represented only sporadically in spelling of early Middle English place names in four of the six South-East Midland counties: ESS, MDX, HRT and CAM. Forms with voiced consonants <u>, <uu>, <v> and <w> are usually found in one sub-period in the names in which they occur and are in the minority. The majority of spellings are attested with the voiceless initial consonant <f>, and occasionally <ph>, or <s>, and occasionally <ss>, <sh> or <c>, in the names listed in Table 34 (p. 226) and Table 35 (p. 227) and shown on Map 36 (p. 228), Map 37, (p. 229), Map 38 (p. 230) and Map 39 (p. 231) above.

## 5 Conclusions and Future Directions

### 5.1 Contribution, Conclusions and Limitations

#### **Contribution.**

The contribution of this thesis lies in the application of the information processing tools to place-name data from five EPNS volumes (EPNS III, XII, XV, XVIII, XIX). The tools themselves: scanning, OCR (Optical Character Recognition), markup software, databases, web interfaces and GIS (Geographic Information System) are not contributions of this work. The generic software was pre-existing, and the bespoke software is too task-specific to be of general use in the field, without funded development.

Instead, the contributions of the present work are made in the questions asked of the data, the answers to these questions and the analysis of the answers. The tools permitted questions to be asked that would, without them, have little hope of being answered, at least accurately.

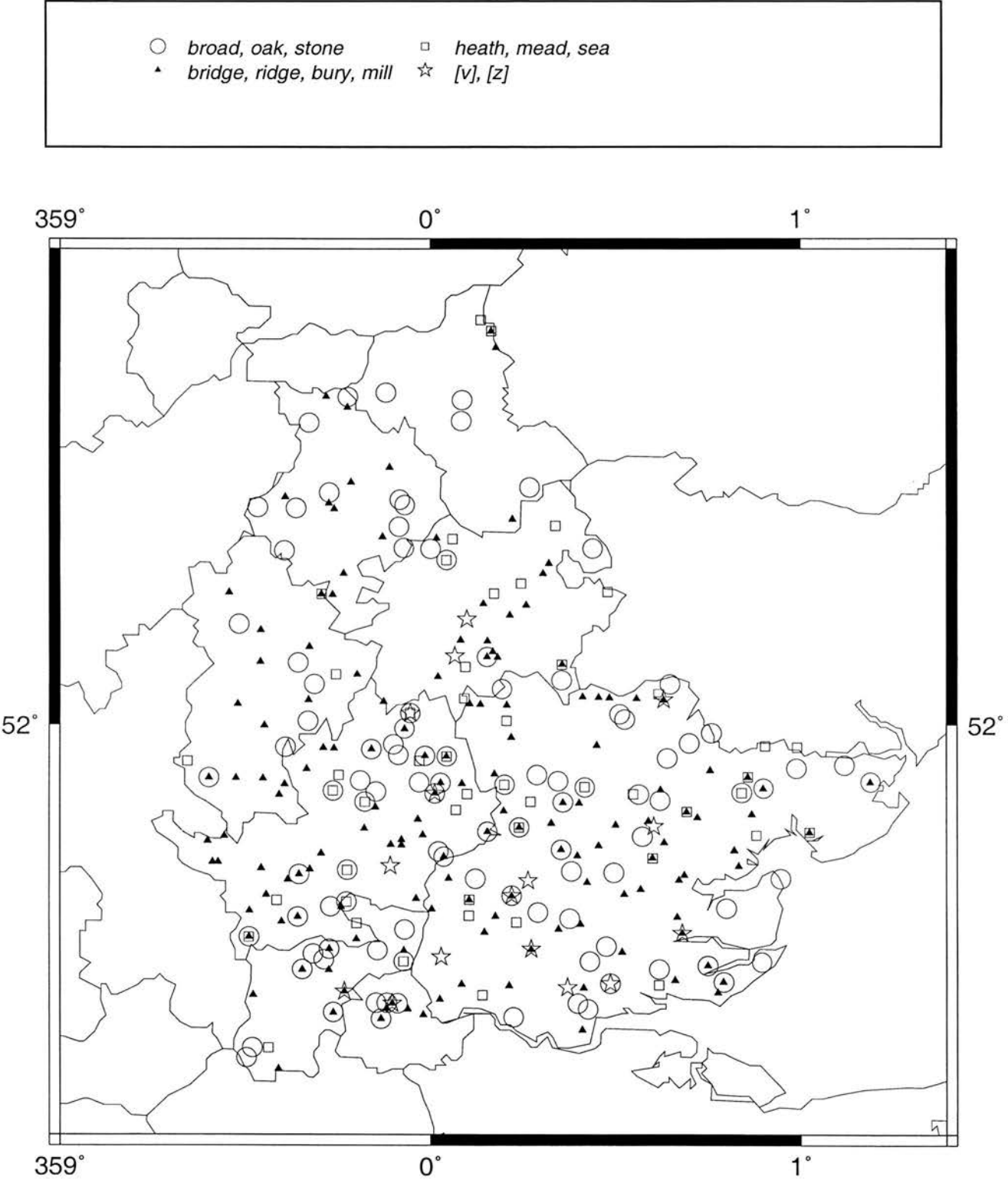
There were two broad questions posed:

1. What are the spellings for the reflexes of OE /ɑ:/, /y/, /æ:/, and for [f] and [s] in word-initial position, in all the relevant place names recorded in the EPNS volumes for the South-East Midlands?
2. How were these spellings distributed across space and time in the period 1100 -1300?

While others have asked these questions of other sources, other regions and other features, this work is the first to examine the four features in the South-East Midlands for this period.

The second contribution lies in the answers to the above questions. By digitising the EPNS volumes, creating a searchable corpus, mapping the results obtained, answers to the distribution in space were provided in terms of tables and maps (accurate to the level of parish). This is the first time, to the best of my knowledge, that GIS has been used to ensure consistent mapping accuracy of this kind in early Middle English onomastics.

Map 40: Summary of distributions of items with OE /ɑ:/, /y/, /æ:/ and word initial [v], [z] in 12th and 13th century (and in DB).



The answer to the question of the distribution in time took the form of, once again tables and maps, of fifty-year sub-periods, of the early Middle English period. With these subdivisions, changes in the (spellings of) reflexes of the Old English features could be identified in time.

Map 40 (p. 238) above shows the locations of all the data points discussed on the earlier data maps. Variation in time could not be shown in this two-dimensional representation without obscuring the picture. However, it should be recalled that many names were attested multiple times with variable spellings in the 12th and 13th centuries. Two or three symbols appearing at any given data point represent a parish with data for more than one variable. This information is collated in Appendix F and on maps 40 a-f. Each of these maps is a sub-set of Map 40, presenting data from one county, with parish IDs to aid the identification of the data points.

The third contribution is in the analysis of the data. The analysis was greatly facilitated by the maps and the tables described above. The conclusions of the analysis, which contribute new understanding to early Middle English onomastics and dialectology, are given in the next section.

## **Conclusions.**

### **1. Each item has its own history**

Although we can say that one phoneme changed into another by a particular time, or, in onomastics, one vowel was reflected by a set of spellings at one time, such talk is only approximate. This thesis has shown that the development of a feature is often quite different in the items which instantiate it. For example, the OE /y/~/e/ evolved differently in the items: -BRIDGE, where early interchangeable spellings later change to majority <i>; -BURY, where early preference for <i> was replaced by <u>, and -MILL, where the <e> majority spelling persisted throughout all of the early Middle English period. A similar tale of separate evolution was found for BROAD, OAK and STONE, all reflecting the OE /ɑ:/.

### **2. Place names are new, variable or old**

At any point in time, it seems that place names are either new, variable or old. New place names are those that have been newly created. Of course, the data does not describe the oral history of a name, so, without other evidence, we assume those first attestations of names where the spelling reflects the new quality unit, to be a sign that the names are new, for example <o> spelling in the following 13th century attestations:

*Stonhulle* (STONEHILL FM, GZ in ESS), *Brodlane* (BROAD ST, 9V in ELY), *Ochers*, *Okersh*, *Ockerse*, *Hokersse* (OAKHURST, PU in HRT).

Variable place names show one spelling in the relevant element at one time, and another spelling at a later time, or interchangeable spellings can be attested at the same date (in different sources or the same source).

John *Attehethede de Stanwey*, *Stanweyhath* (STANWAY HEATH, KL in ESS),  
*Bissemedwe*, *Byssemedwe*, *Bissemade*, *Bismede*, *Bysmede*, *Bysmade*, *Bismade*  
(BUSHMEAD, 24 in BED)

Fixed place names do not change their spelling for the variable under consideration, after a certain time, at least during the early Middle English period. Examples of fixed names are:

*Acton(e)* 1181, *Aketon* 1211, 1213, *Acton(e)* 1232, *Acton(e)* 1294 (ACTON, XQ in MDX), or

*Stan(e)stede* 1086, *Stan(e)stede* 1198, [*Stan(e)*]-*stude* c. 1247, *Stanested(e)* 1261, 1296 (STANSTEAD ABBOTS, SS in HRT).

### 3. New place names reflect local pronunciation of the time

The interpretation of the examples below is not difficult, *-brigge*, *-brigg* represent /i/, *-medwe*, *mede* represent /e(:)/, and *Stone* represents /ɔ:/:

*Wyllisfordebrige* 1279 (WHITTLESFORD BRIDGE, 6I in CAM), *Waldebrigg* 1218 (WOOD WALTON, UN in HUN),

*Langmedwe* 1260, *Langemede* t. Hy 3 (LONG MEADOW, 7F in CAM),  
(STONE'S FM, M3 in ESS) *Stone* 1293

### 4. Etymologically transparent names are variable

There are numerous examples of names that are attested early in the data and that show variable spelling in the history of their attestations in the 12th and the 13th century, for example:

OAKLEY (1H in BED) *Achelai* 1086, *Achelea* 1174 P, *Akelai*, *Akelay* 1176, 1179, *Aklye* 1220, *Akle* 1227, 1247, *Acle* 1236, 1242, 1247, *Ocle* 1247, *Akle* 1279, *Acle* 1267, 1276, 1291, 1292, *Ocle* 1276, 1287, 1291, *Okle(e)* 1276

UPPER STONDON (51 in BED) *Standone* 1086, *Staundon* 1199, *Stondon(e)* 1247, *Staundon* 1276, 1287, 1291, *Stondon(e)* 1252, 1276, 1297.

Topographical by-names, involving phrases like *atte nok(e)* for 'at the oak' have syntactic

support for retaining the identification of the place-name element with the corresponding word. These words remain variable throughout the early Middle English period.

#### 5. Variation does not imply etymological transparency

Some variation may arise from confusion of elements. In such cases the etymology is not transparent, but the forms still show variation. For example, some names with -BURY appear occasionally with spelling that points to other elements, for example *-beorg* or *-burn*: *Limberge* (LIMBURY, 4K in BED), [*Messe*-] *-berge* (MASHBURY, MV in ESS), *Maydeburn'* (MEDBURY, 2D in BED).

Item -BRIDGE is also attested with the spelling more likely to be found in -BURY. For example, *Stanburge* and *Stanburgh* (STANBRIDGE, 41 in HRT), *Grenteburga*, *Canteburge*, *-berg'*, *Kanteberge*, (CAMBRIDGE, 56 in CAM) in addition to spelling types associated with -BRIDGE.

Some variation may have resulted from a greater number of spelling possibilities for one word, as has been found in the LAEME corpus (Laing 1999, Laing and Lass 2003, and Lass and Laing 2005). Examples of spelling from the EPNS corpus, such as *-berge* in MASHBURY (MV in ESS) may be another way of spelling *-byrig*, alongside *-bere*, *-berye*, *-biry*, *-burg*, *-berh*, *-boreye*; whereas *-burge*, *-berge*, *-berg'* (in CAMBRIDGE, 56) may be interchangeable with *-bruge*, *-brege*, *-breg'*. Further work is needed to collect and analyse all the examples of spellings for elements that appear confused; they may reflect a prodigal writing system rather than confusion of elements.

#### 6. Spelling variation does not imply dialectal variation

There are few data sets and maps that show uniform spelling, for example Map 4 (p. 83) Map 30 (p. 207). Most maps show ever present variation. Observations made in points 4 and 5 above may match the model of variation put forward by Laing (1999). Laing introduces the term Litteral Substitution Sets (LSS) in her discussion of early Middle English writing systems found in different scribal texts, some of which have considerable variation within the usage of one scribe. LSS are sets of letters that were used interchangeably to represent a particular sound. The sets are not exclusive, there is a partial overlap in the combination of letters representing various sounds, creating a complex letter-to-sound mapping networks (see Lass and Laing 2005 for examples). Laing and Lass (2003) discuss some of the implications this has for dialect maps of early Middle English, compared to the maps in *LALME*. "The early Middle English material appears much less coherent" (Lass and Laing 2003: 265). They call this lack of cohesion "surface nubbliness", and demonstrate ways of interpreting it, on a set of maps. Their

“feature map” (Lass and Laing 2003 map 4 p. 268) is quite similar to maps presented in this thesis: many data points have more than one symbol representing more than one variant of the feature mapped.<sup>165</sup>

“Surface nubbliness” (Laing and Lass 2003) requires a greater effort in interpreting the spellings before we can get to the language continuum. The variation in place-name data that has emerged from the EPNS corpus may also exemplify surface nubbliness. Here we may have a different kind of surface nubbliness resulting from the use of the three types of sources that recorded new, variable and old names. Differences in patterns of variation may emerge between the three types of sources when members of each category are assigned on better grounds (linguistic and palaeographic) and when more data is collected from local sources. However, it already looks different from Kristensson, who never finds more than two variants per name in the East Midlands LSRs (Kristensson 1995). Maybe the collection of spellings from the original manuscripts will correct that. However, what is more likely, is that more data will confirm the results already obtained, corroborated by the evidence from texts – spelling in early Middle English is more varied than in Late Middle English.

The sources of place names were written by many individual scribes, possibly from different areas of the country, primarily trained to write Latin and French, the languages of central administration and official business at the time, who had to insert English names into that framework (Clark 1992c). They had no training in writing English or contemporary standards to imitate. It is possible that some scribes became familiar with all the variant forms of place-name elements, for example items *BRIDGE* or *RIDGE*, being spelt with <e>, <i/y> and <u> and used these forms interchangeably as members of LSS or lexical substitution sets.<sup>166</sup> This is a speculation however, as there are, as yet, no document profiles with scribal profiles for the sources used in EPNS volumes. Therefore, we cannot tell whether variation in names in one source is attributable to variation in one hand or in different hands. This information has to be recovered as the next step in refining the picture that has been obtained from early Middle English place names so far.

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165 The feature mapped out as an example by Lass and Laing (2003: 268) is different from the features examined in this project and it covers a different geographical area, also their map 4 displays broadly phonetic variants, whereas the maps presented here encode spelling variants.

166 Lass (1992: 55) mentions that <e>, <i> and <u> were all employed for OE /y(:)/ in official central documents in the late 14th century. This combination of graphs may have been used earlier but could only have occurred in native place and personal names at this period because English was not used as the language of official written documentary texts before the mid 14th century. So far there have been no systematic studies from manuscript sources of the use of English in names during the period when Latin, and for certain purposes French, were the languages used for government administration and the law. This thesis provides prolegomena for such a study in the south-eastern counties.



#### 7. Onomastics best tracks language change with new words

Because new (or newly attested) words are unlikely to have been fixed at an earlier (pre-change) date, they are best able to reflect ongoing sound changes in non-place name vocabulary. For example, looking only at new names, we can see the shift from OE /ɑ:/ to eME /ɔ:/ moving from west to east through the South-East Midlands (see Map 2 p. 77, Map 3 p. 79 and Map 3b p. 81) in a relatively uniform manner. If we include all names: new, variable and old/fixed, the picture is confused. Using only new names, we see the chronology of sound changes, with OE /y/ having become (frequently) <e> before the start of our period, with OE /ɑ:/ becoming eME /ɔ:/ and OE /æ:/ (/ɑ:/) becoming /ɛ:/ in the 13th century.

#### 8. The local/central distinction is not significant

The sources were classified into local, central and undecided (half-central). The source classifications were not reflected in patterns of spelling. The local/central distinction did not, therefore, seem to be significant. It is possible, however, that the distinction was lost because the majority of sources had to be classified as undecided.

#### 9. Non-initial element spelling does not reflect general sound changes

Items in non-initial position vary differently from items in initial position. Changes in the spelling of items in initial position are more readily accounted for by known sound changes. Variation in the spelling in items in non-initial position is less straightforward to interpret because of items occurring under reduced stress. For example, see the differences in spelling of OAK and STONE in the two positions in Table 1 (p. 60) and Table 4 (p. 68). It is possible to argue for a shortening of /ɑ:/ to /a/ in -STONE and the subsequent merger of /a/ and /o/ in unstressed position. We could also argue for shortening of /ɔ:/ to /o/ with an optional convergence of -ston with -ton (from -tun) into a non-distinct suffix. The evidence for -OAK (namely, lack of interchangeable <a> and <o> spellings) does not suggest merger of /a/ and /o/ in unstressed position. The more likely development was the /ɑ:/ to /ɔ:/ change and a subsequent shortening of /ɔ:/ to /o/.

#### 10. Later variation in non-initial element spelling was phonetic or conventional, not phonemic

Likewise, it is not very likely that the change from majority spelling -biry to -bury from the first half to the second half of the 13th century reflects a general /i/ to /u/ shift in the South-East Midlands at this time. Similarly, interchangeable spellings <e> and <i> in

-BRIDGE in the 13th century are not likely to correspond to two contrastive units being in use in the same name.

The variation in the spelling of vowels in non-initial elements can largely be accounted for by the reduction of these vowels. For speakers for whom /e/, /i/ or /u/ are reduced to the same vowel, spelling with any of the corresponding graphemes would do no injury to the representation of the pronunciation. This accounts for why in some cases there is free variation between these spellings.

Phonetic variation, in space or time, may make this reduced vowel more like /i/, more like /e/, or more like /u/. This accounts for where the vowel appears with one regular spelling, despite the lack of a general sound change.

Finally, the lack of phonemic distinction leaves open the possibility of regularising the spellings of these elements to the spelling of their etymological sources, where these are still recognisable. Thus the modern spellings of -BRIDGE, -MILL and -BURY elements reflect the simplex or name-initial forms, such as BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

#### **Limitations of current work.**

Some of the more obvious limitations come from the fact that analysis of spellings from printed sources makes the results tentative. However, the time and resources required to collect the data from the original manuscripts would amount to proof-reading the place-name material for the six counties and would not be possible within a PhD project. It is a long-term undertaking by the many experienced contributors of EPNS.

Dating of some spellings is less precise than it could have been had the original sources been consulted. In some cases, the dates given within the place-name volumes are contradictory: the date associated with a spelling is not compatible with the date given in the bibliography for the corresponding source.

Division into types of sources: central, local and half-central or undecided is only tentative: however, it is hoped that the observations made about different sources will help identify the sources for future investigations from manuscripts in order to confirm the results obtained here.

Page size limitations make some symbols on some maps not as readable as they should be. Notes on the maps draw attention to particular points that could otherwise be confusing.

## 5.2 Some Future Directions

One emphasis in my research is the importance for collecting all the usable data. The collection for early Middle English (and Old English) should be arranged in such a way as to make the data available for different kinds of research in addition to the aim of reconstructing the dialect continuum (Laing 2000: 100-2). All the data should be presented on maps, and in atlases, either separate onomastic atlases or in onomastic sections of general linguistic atlases for that period.

The biggest difficulty at the moment continues to be the reliability of the sources. Some suggestions about improving the reliability of the data through the rigorous examination of the sources were made in section 2.4.3 above. It was also indicated there that there are already numerous resources available, to begin the task of cataloguing all the sources of Middle English data, and in particular of early Middle English. The cataloguing should aim at full coverage of the sources of linguistic data not covered by LAEME and should give an assessment of the usability of the sources for dialectal research.

Document profiles and scribal profiles are a way of improving data reliability. It is difficult to envisage satisfactory progress in data collection for early Middle English dialects without analysis of the scribal practices and context of document production. A database of document profiles would, for example, help group documents into the existing categories central, local and half-central (undecided) or establish a different categorisation, more appropriate for the investigation of regional variation. There could even be a system of fitting documents based on profile characteristics. One obvious application of document and scribal profiles would be an assessment of the LSRs. They cannot, at the moment, be compared to anything else, not because they are unique, but because other sources have not been analysed. That is why arguments for and against the local character of the LSRs remain unresolved: each side presents valid arguments, up to a point. When we have a spectrum of sources our typology is likely to become more refined and the language samples obtained from them will be positionable on a scale from central to local. All the sources will be useful, but for different purposes: some will indeed help describe local usage, others will shed light on the usage of central administration and its input to the future standard.

“A Key to English Place-Names” project is a digital, map-based guide to the linguistic origins of England’s town- and village-names undertaken by The Institute for Name-Studies at University of Nottingham. The preview outlines the goals: the key “will

eventually incorporate many layers of information, including large-scale mapping and images”, “for example, it will be possible to search for (and map) names containing Old Norse words, names denoting woodland, or names incorporating female personal names.”

<http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/english/ins/epncurrent/keytoepn.html> [as at 20.03.2005]

The first phase, due for completion in April 2005, will include all the parish names (c. 14000) in all the forty-two historic counties of England. The second stage is now outlined, namely incorporating the Domesday and Anglo-Saxon settlement data, as well as developing more powerful search tools.

One of the layers of the key should include the linguistic history of the parish names, and names inside parishes, from the earliest records until the times of their standardisation. An interesting aspect of a name's history would be a comparison of the ways of spelling of a name in all the sources in which it is attested: from local to central at similar dates. This data, combined with the knowledge of scribal profiles, would show an unprecedented degree of detail, and most likely variation, in the early linguistic history of the names.

There are numerous projects which tackle the medieval sources. They should be drawn upon for the preliminary work of assessing whether they have any names of people and places. Three examples of electronic resources are provided below.

### 1. Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England

The project focuses on the collection of personal names recorded in the Old English period. It could help revise etymology of place names that incorporate personal name elements, a lot of which have doubtful etymology.

The PASE project has taken upon itself a wide-ranging brief: to assemble evidence about people associated with Anglo-Saxon England over nearly half a millennium of history. The names of those people who were then living within Britain ranged from Pictish to Cornish and those from abroad included bearers of Irish, Scandinavian and Latin names. (Pelteret 2003)

### 2. The Digital Domesday

Domesday Book has a wealth of onomastic data, already used for linguistic studies. A new project “The Digital Domesday” combines a database of personal names (COEL database), Domesday place names, as well as other information.

The Digital Domesday ... joins Katharine Keats-Rohan's COEL database and John Palmer's Domesday Explorer to facilitate the recovery and manipulation of Domesday data.

COEL is primarily a database and prosopographical research tool with only a limited number of datasets from Domesday Book: ... the people of Domesday Book, and it provides documentation of them and their descendants down to 1166 and beyond.

All place-names in the Digital Domesday database have been coded [tagged] as such and so every reference to the same place can be rapidly pulled out of the text. Likewise, personal names have been similarly treated to aid the identification of the lands of individuals. (Roffe 2002)

### 3. Medieval Parishes Database

There is another on-going project of potential interest: Taxatio Ecclesiastica Database. It uses the parish unit as the 'individual'. It collects textual data and alpha-numeric data from the Taxatio Ecclesiastica 1291-1292 based on Record Commission (1802) *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV.*

<http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/findingData/snDescription.asp?sn=3897>

[as at 02.01.2005]

We must not forget that the National Archives house many of the original sources of onomastic data. They should be consulted at the stage of preparing the catalogue of sources and when the work on the sources commences. It is clear that there is not going to be a shortage of resources for harvesting onomastic data; time and financial resources may be harder to secure for the success of the undertaking.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A: Parish IDs

List Pattern:

ID: Parish (Nat. Grid. Co-Ordinate), Hundred or Half-Hundred, County

12: Bedford (TL0552), Bedfordshire, Bedfordshire  
1H: Oakley (TL0153), STODDEN, Bedfordshire  
1T: Sharnbrook (SP9959), WILLEY, Bedfordshire  
24: Eaton Socon (TL1659), BARFORD, Bedfordshire  
2D: Elstow (TL0546), REDBORNSTOKE, Bedfordshire  
2K: Millbrook (TL0138), REDBORNSTOKE, Bedfordshire  
2P: WIXAMTREE (TL1246), WIXAMTREE, Bedfordshire  
2U: Moggerhanger (TL1449), WIXAMTREE, Bedfordshire  
2X: Southill (TL1542), WIXAMTREE, Bedfordshire  
34: Biggleswade (TL1944), BIGGLESWADE, Bedfordshire  
35: Dunton (TL2344), BIGGLESWADE, Bedfordshire  
3S: Heath and Reach (SP9227), MANSHEAD, Bedfordshire  
3V: Houghton Regis (TL0124), MANSHEAD, Bedfordshire  
41: Stanbridge (SP9624), MANSHEAD, Bedfordshire  
4K: Limbury (TL0624), FLITT, Bedfordshire  
4L: Luton (TL0921), FLITT, Bedfordshire  
4M: Pulloxhill (TL0634), FLITT, Bedfordshire  
4O: Stopsley (TL1023), FLITT, Bedfordshire  
4Y: Shefford (TL1439), CLIFTON, Bedfordshire  
51: Upper Stondon (TL1435), CLIFTON, Bedfordshire  
56: Cambridge (TL4658), BOROUGH OF CAMBRIDGE, Cambridgeshire  
5F: Melbourn (TL3844), ARMINGFORD, Cambridgeshire  
5U: Grantchester (TL4355), WETHERLEY, Cambridgeshire  
63: Foxton (TL4148), THRILOW, Cambridgeshire  
64: Harston (TL4251), THRILOW, Cambridgeshire  
6A: Stapleford (TL4751), THRILOW, Cambridgeshire  
6B: Thriplow (TL4346), THRILOW, Cambridgeshire  
6H: Sawston (TL4849), WHITTLESFORD, Cambridgeshire  
6I: Whittlesford (TL4748), WHITTLESFORD, Cambridgeshire

6R: Shudy Camps (TL6144), CHILFORD, Cambridgeshire  
 6T: Horseheath (TL6147), CHILFORD, Cambridgeshire  
 6V: Pampisford (TL4948), CHILFORD, Cambridgeshire  
 79: Ashley cum Silverley (TL6961), CHEVELEY, Cambridgeshire  
 7F: Lode (TL5362), STAINE, Cambridgeshire  
 7J: Swaffham Prior (TL5764), STAINE, Cambridgeshire  
 7M: Little Wilbraham (TL5458), STAINE, Cambridgeshire  
 7P: Fen Ditton (TL4860), FLENDISH, Cambridgeshire  
 7Q: Fulbourn (TL5156), FLENDISH, Cambridgeshire  
 8O: Over (TL3770), PAPWORTH, Cambridgeshire  
 8S: Swavesey (TL3668), PAPWORTH, Cambridgeshire  
 8T: Willingham (TL4070), PAPWORTH, Cambridgeshire  
 96: Long Stanton St Michael (TL3966), NORTHSTOW,  
     Cambridgeshire  
 99: Burwell (TL5866), STAPLOE, Cambridgeshire  
 9A: Chippenham (TL6669), STAPLOE, Cambridgeshire  
 9G: Soham (TL5973), STAPLOE, Cambridgeshire  
 9V: Intermixed Lands rated to Ely St Mary and Ely Trinity.  
     No. 2 (TL5480), ELY, TheIsleofEly  
 A7: Stretham (TL5174), SOUTH WITCHFORD, TheIsleofEly  
 AK: March (TL4196), NORTH WITCHFORD, TheIsleofEly  
 AL: Whittlesey (TL2797), NORTH WITCHFORD, TheIsleofEly  
 AM: Wimblington (TL4192), NORTH WITCHFORD, TheIsleofEly  
 AO: Elm (TF4706), WISBECH, TheIsleofEly  
 AP: Leverington (TF4411), WISBECH, TheIsleofEly  
 AY: Wisbech St Peter (TF4609), WISBECH, TheIsleofEly  
 B3: Epping (TL4502), WALTHAM, Essex  
 B5: Nazeing (TL4106), WALTHAM, Essex  
 B6: Waltham Holy Cross (TL3800), WALTHAM, Essex  
 B9: Great Hallingbury (TL5119), HARLOW, Essex  
 BC: Hatfield Broad Oak (TL5416), HARLOW, Essex  
 BD: Latton (TL4606), HARLOW, Essex  
 BJ: Roydon (TL4010), HARLOW, Essex  
 BP: Fyfield (TL5606), ONGAR, Essex  
 BS: Lambourne (TQ4896), ONGAR, Essex  
 BZ: Navestock (TQ5498), ONGAR, Essex  
 C8: Stanford Rivers (TL5303), ONGAR, Essex

CB: Stapleford Tawney (TQ5099), ONGAR, Essex  
 CC: Stondon Massey (TL5800), ONGAR, Essex  
 CE: Theydon Bois (TQ4599), ONGAR, Essex  
 CK: Dagenham (TQ4884), BECONTREE, Essex  
 CN: West Ham (TQ4083), BECONTREE, Essex  
 CO: Ilford (TQ4486), BECONTREE, Essex  
 CS: Woodford (TQ4091), BECONTREE, Essex  
 CV: Hornchurch (TQ5386), THE ROYAL LIBERTY OF HAVERING-  
 ATTE-BOWER, Essex  
 CW: Noak Hill (TQ6891), THE ROYAL LIBERTY OF HAVERING-ATTE-  
 BOWER, Essex  
 DI: South Weald (TQ5793), CHAFFORD, Essex  
 DJ: Wennington (TQ5480), CHAFFORD, Essex  
 DQ: Bulphan (TQ6486), BARSTABLE, Essex  
 E2: Horndon-on-the-Hill (TQ6683), BARSTABLE, Essex  
 E9: Langdon alias Laindon Hills (TQ6786), BARSTABLE, Essex  
 EH: Ramsden Crays (TQ7194), BARSTABLE, Essex  
 EJ: Stanford-le-Hope (TQ6882), BARSTABLE, Essex  
 EN: East Tilbury (TQ6778), BARSTABLE, Essex  
 EP: Vange (TQ7287), BARSTABLE, Essex  
 EQ: Wickford (TQ7493), BARSTABLE, Essex  
 EV: Eastwood (TQ8488), ROCHFORD, Essex  
 EX: Foulness (TR0092), ROCHFORD, Essex  
 EY: Hadleigh (TQ8187), ROCHFORD, Essex  
 F7: Rayleigh (TQ8190), ROCHFORD, Essex  
 FB: South Shoebury (TQ9286), ROCHFORD, Essex  
 FF: Great Stambridge (TQ9091), ROCHFORD, Essex  
 FK: Little Wakering (TQ9388), ROCHFORD, Essex  
 FP: Bradwell-juxta-Mare (TM0308), DENGIE, Essex  
 FU: North Fambridge (TQ8597), DENGIE, Essex  
 FZ: St Peter Maldon (TL8407), DENGIE, Essex  
 G3: Cold Norton (TL8400), DENGIE, Essex  
 G7: Steeple (TL9302), DENGIE, Essex  
 GK: Buttsbury (TQ6698), CHELMSFORD, Essex  
 GN: Danbury (TL7705), CHELMSFORD, Essex  
 GS: Ingatestone and Fryerning (TQ6499), CHELMSFORD, Essex  
 GU: Great Leighs (TL7217), CHELMSFORD, Essex

GX: Mountnessing (TQ6297), CHELMSFORD, Essex  
GZ: Roxwell (TL6408), CHELMSFORD, Essex  
H2: Sandon (TL7404), CHELMSFORD, Essex  
H3: Springfield (TL7208), CHELMSFORD, Essex  
H6: Great Waltham (TL6913), CHELMSFORD, Essex  
HA: Writtle (TL6706), CHELMSFORD, Essex  
HC: Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall (TL8022), WITHAM, Essex  
HE: Little Coggeshall (TL8520), WITHAM, Essex  
HH: Faulkbourn (TL7917), WITHAM, Essex  
HI: Hatfield Peverel (TL7911), WITHAM, Essex  
HM: White Notley (TL7818), WITHAM, Essex  
HO: Terling (TL7715), WITHAM, Essex  
HQ: Witham (TL8114), WITHAM, Essex  
HT: Heybridge (TL8508), THURSTABLE, Essex  
HV: Tollesbury (TL9510), THURSTABLE, Essex  
IC: Layer de la Haye (TL9720), WINSTREE, Essex  
IH: Peldon (TL9816), WINSTREE, Essex  
IJ: Virley (TL9413), WINSTREE, Essex  
IP: Ardleigh (TM0529), TENDRING, Essex  
IU: Bradfield (TM1430), TENDRING, Essex  
IV: Brightlingsea (TM0817), TENDRING, Essex  
JG: Great Oakley (TM1927), TENDRING, Essex  
JS: West Bergholt (TL9627), LEXDEN, Essex  
JU: Boxted (TL9933), LEXDEN, Essex  
JW: Chapel (TL8928), LEXDEN, Essex  
JZ: Colchester (TL9925), LEXDEN, Essex  
K7: Dedham (TM0533), LEXDEN, Essex  
KB: Feering (TL8719), LEXDEN, Essex  
KL: Stanway (TL9524), LEXDEN, Essex  
KX: Belchamp Otton (TL8041), HINCKFORD, Essex  
KY: Belchamp St Paul's (TL7942), HINCKFORD, Essex  
L1: Birdbrook (TL7041), HINCKFORD, Essex  
L2: Bocking (TL7523), HINCKFORD, Essex  
L4: Braintree (TL7623), HINCKFORD, Essex  
L6: Steeple Bumpstead (TL6841), HINCKFORD, Essex  
L9: Finchingfield (TL6832), HINCKFORD, Essex  
LE: Halstead Rural (TL8130), HINCKFORD, Essex

LL: Lamarsh (TL8935), HINCKFORD, Essex  
 LU: Pebmarsh (TL8533), HINCKFORD, Essex  
 LV: Pentlow (TL8144), HINCKFORD, Essex  
 M2: Stambourne (TL7238), HINCKFORD, Essex  
 M3: Stebbing (TL6624), HINCKFORD, Essex  
 M4: Stisted (TL8024), HINCKFORD, Essex  
 M6: Tilbury-juxta-Clare (TQ6476), HINCKFORD, Essex  
 M7: Toppesfield (TL7337), HINCKFORD, Essex  
 MG: Broxted (TL5726), DUNMOW, Essex  
 MM: Great Dunmow (TL6221), DUNMOW, Essex  
 MN: Little Dunmow (TL6521), DUNMOW, Essex  
 MP: Good Easter (TL6212), DUNMOW, Essex  
 MS: Great Easton (TL6125), DUNMOW, Essex  
 MV: Mashbury (TL6511), DUNMOW, Essex  
 N1: High Roding (TL6017), DUNMOW, Essex  
 NJ: Helion Bumpstead (TL6541), FRESHWELL, Essex  
 NU: Great Chesterford (TL5042), UTTLESFORD, Essex  
 NZ: Chrishall (TL4439), UTTLESFORD, Essex  
 O2: Elmdon (TL4639), UTTLESFORD, Essex  
 O5: Heydon 1 (TL4340), UTTLESFORD, Essex  
 O6: Littlebury 1 (TL5139), UTTLESFORD, Essex  
 O7: Newport (TL5233), UTTLESFORD, Essex  
 OA: Stansted Mountfitchet (TL5124), UTTLESFORD, Essex  
 OC: Takeley (TL5621), UTTLESFORD, Essex  
 OF: Wendon Lofts (TL5136), UTTLESFORD, Essex  
 OO: Manuden (TL4926), CLAVERING, Essex  
 OS: Hitchin (TL1930), HITCHIN, Hertfordshire  
 OV: Ippollitts (TL2025), HITCHIN, Hertfordshire  
 OZ: Offley (TL1426), HITCHIN, Hertfordshire  
 P5: Aldbury (SP9612), DACORUM, Hertfordshire  
 P6: Great Berkhamsted (SP9808), DACORUM, Hertfordshire  
 PD: Little Gaddesden (SP9913), DACORUM, Hertfordshire  
 PF: Hemel Hempstead (TL0607), DACORUM, Hertfordshire  
 PI: Kings Langley (TL0702), DACORUM, Hertfordshire  
 PL: Northchurch (SP9708), DACORUM, Hertfordshire  
 PR: Aldenham (TQ1398), DETACHED PARISHES OF DACORUM,  
 Hertfordshire



PU: Shenley (TL1900), DETACHED PARISHES OF DACORUM,  
     Hertfordshire  
 Q3: Monken Hadley (TQ2497), CASHIO, Hertfordshire  
 Q4: Abbots Langley (TL0901), CASHIO, Hertfordshire  
 Q6: Rickmansworth (TQ0494), CASHIO, Hertfordshire  
 Q7: Ridge (TL2100), CASHIO, Hertfordshire  
 Q8: St Albans (TL1507), CASHIO, Hertfordshire  
 Q9: St Michaels (TL1105), CASHIO, Hertfordshire  
 QB: St Stephens (TL1306), CASHIO, Hertfordshire  
 QC: Sandridge (TL1710), CASHIO, Hertfordshire  
 QD: Sarratt (TQ0499), CASHIO, Hertfordshire  
 QE: Watford (TQ1097), CASHIO, Hertfordshire  
 QI: Hexton (TL1030), DETACHED PARISHES OF CASHIO,  
     Hertfordshire  
 QN: St Paul's Walden (TL1922), DETACHED PARISHES OF CASHIO,  
     Hertfordshire  
 QP: Aston (TL2722), BROADWATER, Hertfordshire  
 QV: Datchworth (TL2719), BROADWATER, Hertfordshire  
 QW: Digswell (TL2515), BROADWATER, Hertfordshire  
 QY: Bishops Hatfield (TL2207), BROADWATER, Hertfordshire  
 QZ: Knebworth (TL2520), BROADWATER, Hertfordshire  
 R3: Great Munden (TL3524), BROADWATER, Hertfordshire  
 R6: Stevenage (TL2424), BROADWATER, Hertfordshire  
 RA: Weston (TL2630), BROADWATER, Hertfordshire  
 RG: Totteridge (TQ2494), DETACHED PART OF BROADWATER,  
     Hertfordshire  
 RJ: Ashwell (TL2839), ODSEY, Hertfordshire  
 RO: Cottered (TL3129), ODSEY, Hertfordshire  
 RU: Rushden (TL3031), ODSEY, Hertfordshire  
 RV: Sandon (TL3234), ODSEY, Hertfordshire  
 RW: Therfield (TL3337), ODSEY, Hertfordshire  
 RZ: Albury (TL4324), EDWINSTREE, Hertfordshire  
 S2: Aspenden (TL3528), EDWINSTREE, Hertfordshire  
 S7: Much Hadham (TL4219), EDWINSTREE, Hertfordshire  
 S8: Little Hadham (TL4422), EDWINSTREE, Hertfordshire  
 SB: Little Hornead (TL4029), EDWINSTREE, Hertfordshire  
 SC: Layston with Buntingford (TL3629), EDWINSTREE,

Hertfordshire

SM: Braughing (TL3924), BRAUGHING, Hertfordshire  
SQ: Sawbridgeworth (TL4815), BRAUGHING, Hertfordshire  
SR: Standon (TL3822), BRAUGHING, Hertfordshire  
SS: Stanstead Abbots (TL3911), BRAUGHING, Hertfordshire  
SV: Thundridge (TL3517), BRAUGHING, Hertfordshire  
SW: Ware (TL3614), BRAUGHING, Hertfordshire  
SX: Westmill (TL1730), BRAUGHING, Hertfordshire  
T4: Bayford (TL3008), HERTFORD, Hertfordshire  
T5: Bengoe (TL3213), HERTFORD, Hertfordshire  
T9: Cheshunt (TL3502), HERTFORD, Hertfordshire  
TB: Hertford (TL3212), HERTFORD, Hertfordshire  
TC: Hertingfordbury (TL3012), HERTFORD, Hertfordshire  
TQ: Farcet (TL2094), NORMANCROSS, Huntingdonshire  
TW: Morborne (TL1391), NORMANCROSS, Huntingdonshire  
TY: Orton Longueville and Orton Waterville (TL1696),  
NORMANCROSS, Huntingdonshire  
U2: Stanground (TL2096), NORMANCROSS, Huntingdonshire  
U9: Bury (TL2883), HURSTINGSTONE, Huntingdonshire  
UE: Old Hurst (TL3077), HURSTINGSTONE, Huntingdonshire  
UJ: St Ives (TL3072), HURSTINGSTONE, Huntingdonshire  
UN: Wood Walton (TL2180), HURSTINGSTONE, Huntingdonshire  
UQ: Woodhurst (TL3176), HURSTINGSTONE, Huntingdonshire  
UU: Alconbury (TL1875), LEIGHTONSTONE, Huntingdonshire  
VA: Keyston (TL0475), LEIGHTONSTONE, Huntingdonshire  
VB: Kimbolton (TL0967), LEIGHTONSTONE, Huntingdonshire  
VC: Leighton Bromswold (TL1175), LEIGHTONSTONE,  
Huntingdonshire  
VH: Upton (TL1778), LEIGHTONSTONE, Huntingdonshire  
VI: Alconbury Weston (TL1776), LEIGHTONSTONE,  
Huntingdonshire  
VJ: Old Weston (TL0977), LEIGHTONSTONE, Huntingdonshire  
VQ: Eynesbury (TL1859), TOSELAND, Huntingdonshire  
VU: Hemingford Abbots and (TL2770), TOSELAND,  
Huntingdonshire  
VZ: Great and Little Paxton (TL2063), TOSELAND,  
Huntingdonshire

W3: Fen Stanton (TL3168), TOSELAND, Huntingdonshire  
 WD: East Bedfont (TQ0873), SPELTHORNE, Middlesex  
 WK: Staines (TQ0471), SPELTHORNE, Middlesex  
 WL: Stanwell (TQ0573), SPELTHORNE, Middlesex  
 WM: Sunbury (TQ1069), SPELTHORNE, Middlesex  
 XB: Uxbridge (TQ0583), ELTHORNE, Middlesex  
 XD: Edgware (TQ1992), GORE, Middlesex  
 XE: Harrow (TQ1488), GORE, Middlesex  
 XG: Kingsbury (TQ1988), GORE, Middlesex  
 XI: Stanmore (TQ1691), GORE, Middlesex  
 XJ: Whitchurch (TQ1890), GORE, Middlesex  
 XL: Edmonton (TQ3392), EDMONTON, Middlesex  
 XM: Enfield (TQ3396), EDMONTON, Middlesex  
 XN: North Mimms (TL2201), DETACHED PARISHES OF DACORUM,  
     Hertfordshire  
 XO: Tottenham (TQ3390), EDMONTON, Middlesex  
 XP: OSSULSTONE (TQ2882), OSSULSTONE, Middlesex  
 XQ: The Borough of Acton (TQ2080), OSSULSTONE, Middlesex  
 XW: The Borough of Finsbury (TQ3182), OSSULSTONE, Middlesex  
 XX: Friern Barnet (TQ2892), OSSULSTONE, Middlesex  
 Y3: The Borough of Holborn (TQ3081), OSSULSTONE, Middlesex  
 Y8: The Borough of Poplar (TQ3780), OSSULSTONE, Middlesex  
 YA: The Borough of St Pancras (TQ3082), OSSULSTONE,  
     Middlesex  
 YB: The Borough of Shoreditch (TQ3282), OSSULSTONE,  
     Middlesex  
 YC: The Borough of Stepney (TQ3481), OSSULSTONE, Middlesex  
 YH: The Borough of Willesden (TQ2284), OSSULSTONE,  
     Middlesex  
 YJ: Westminster (TQ2979), WESTMINSTER, Middlesex

## Appendix B: OE /a:/ Data

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item OAK-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

BED

1H (Oakley, TL0153, p. 24) OAKLEY *Achelai* 1086 DB

ESS

JG (Great and Little Oakley, TM1927, p. 345) OAKLEY *Accleiam*, *Adem* (sic) 1086 DB  
[The *d* in *Adem* is probably the result of letters *c* and *l* joining together, and the name should read *Aclem*, though it is not possible to say for sure without consulting the manuscript]

test item BROAD-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

ESS

IU (Bradfield, TM1430, p. 329) BRADFIELD *Bradefelda* 1086 DB

HRT

QZ (BROADWATER HUNDRED, TL2521, p. 117) BROADWATER *Bradewatre* 1086 DB

[Although this is a hundred name it is named after a localisable place and therefore mapped. “*Broadwater* in the parish of *Knebworth infra* 130. the note at *Broadwater*: For further forms v. the Hundred-name *supra* 117”]

RO (Broadfield now united with Cottered, TL3129, p. 154) BROADFIELD *Bradefella* (sic), *-felle* 1086 DB

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

BED

2X (Southill, TL1542, p. 97) STANFORD *Stanford* 1086 DB *et passim*

41 (half-hundred Stanbridge, SP9624, p. 113) STANBRIDGE *Stanburge* 1086 DB

[The DB record refers to the name of the half-hundred which derives its name from a localisable place name, Stanbridge, EPNS III: 132]

51 (Upper Stondon, TL1435, p. 177) UPPER STONDON *Standone* 1086 DB [*et passim* to 1712 BM]

CAM

96 (Long Stanton (All Saints and St Michael), TL3966, p. 183-4) LONG STANTON *Stantune* 1086 DB, *InqEl*, *Stantone* 1086 DB

Not mapped:

STAINED HUNDRED; the name does not come from a localisable place. The record in EPNS XIX is as follows (p. 129): “*Stane* 1086 ICC, *InqEl*, *Stan(e)* 1185 P *et freq* to 1523 SR *Stanes* 1086 DB, 1268 Ass, *Stanas* 1086 *InqEl* *Stone* 1268, 1272, 1285 Ass. The meeting-place of the hundred was probably at Mutlow Hill in Great Wilbraham.”

ESS

C8 (Stanford Rivers, TL5303, p. 77) STANFORD RIVERS *Stanfort* 1086 DB

EH (Ramsden Bellhouse, TQ7194, p. 167) STANMER (lost) *Stantmere* 1086 DB

FF (Great and Little Stambridge, TQ9091, p. 202) STAMBRIDGE *Stanbruge* 1086 DB  
G7 (Steeple, TL9302, p. 227) STANESGATE ABBEY (FM) *Stanesgata* 1086 DB  
KL (Stanway, TL9524, p. 398) STANWAY *Stanewegā* 1086 DB  
LE (Halstead Rural, TL8130, p. 436) STANSTED HALL *Stan(e)steda*, -ā 1086 DB  
M2 (Stambourne, TL7238, p. 456) STAMBOURNE *Stanburna* 1086 DB,  
OA (Stansted Mountfitchet, TL5124, p. 533) STANSTED MOUNTFITCHET  
*Stanestedam* 1086 DB

#### HRT

SB (Little Hormead, TL4029, p. 180) STONEBURY *Stanes* 1086 DB  
SR (Standon, TL3822, p. 196) STANDON *Standone* 1086 DB  
SS (Stanstead Abbots, TL3911, p. 200) STANSTEAD ABBOTS *Stan(e)stede* 1086 DB

#### HUN

U2 (Stanground, TL2096, p. 199) STANGROUND *Stangrun* 1086 DB  
W3 (Fen Stanton, TL3168, p. 267) FEN STANTON *Stantone* 1086 DB

#### MDX

WK (Staines, TQ0471, p. 18-19) STAINES *Stanes* 1086 DB [*et passim* to 1593 N]  
WL (Stanwell, TQ0573, p. 20) STANWELL *Stanwelle* 1086 DB  
XI (Stanmore, TQ1691, p. 65) STANMORE *Stammere* 1086 DB [*et passim* to 1411 FF]  
XJ (Whitchurch, TQ1890, p. 66) WHITCHURCH *Stanmera* 1086 DB

test item BROAD-

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>

#### HRT

QN (St Paul's Walden, TL1922, p. 116) BROADWAY *Bradeweya* 1119-46 Ch  
RU (Rushden, TL3031, p. 163) FRIARS WOOD and GRANGE *grangia de Bradefeld  
cum Fildenewoda* p. 1150 Dugd v

test item BROAD-

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <o>

#### ESS

BC (Hatfield Broad Oak, TL5416, p. 39) HATFIELD BROAD OAK *Hatfeld Brodehoke*  
1121-36 WDB

test item STONE-

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>

#### CAM

9A (Chippenhams, TL6669, p. 190) STANNEL WOOD *Stahulla* c. 1135 Hosp

#### ESS

G7 (Steeple, TL9302, p. 227) STANESGATE ABBEY (FM) *Stanagatam* 1121 [AC]  
KL (Stanway, TL9524, p. 398) STANWAY *Stanuueie* 1119 Colch [also in name non-  
initial position *Eststanweya* 1119 Colch]  
LE (Halstead Rural, TL8130, p. 436 see JEPNS 2: 46) STANSTED HALL *Stansteda*  
1091-1119 Colne

#### HUN

VH (Upton, TL1778, p. 249) STANGATE HILL *Stangate* 1146 Cott vii. 3

Not mapped:

U2 (Stanground, TL2096, p.199) STANGROUND *Stangrund* c.1150 (c. 1300-25) Thorney 168 b

W3 (Fen Stanton, TL3168, p. 267) FEN STANTON *Stantun(e)* c. 1150 (c. 1300-25) Thorney 168 b [The spellings come from a 14th c. copy of a mid-12th c. document.]

MDX

WK (Staines, TQ0471, p. 18-19) STAINES (*æt*) *Stane* c. 1150 ASC (E)

XJ (Whitchurch, TQ1890, p. 66) WHITCHURCH *Stanmera* 1106 Round

test item OAK-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

BED

IH (Oakley, TL0153, p. 24) OAKLEY *Achelea* 1174 P, *Akelai*, *Akelay* 1176, 1179 P

ESS

JG (Great and Little Oakley, TM1927, p. 345) OAKLEY *Aquileie* 1141-51 France, *Acheleia* 12th [France]

MDX

XQ (The Borough of Acton, TQ2080, p. 81) ACTON *Acton(e)* 1181 StPauls DB (p)

test item BROAD-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

HRT

QZ (BROADWATER HUNDRED, TL2521, p. 117) BROADWATER *Bradewathdr* [*thd* each have a tilde above them] 1173 P, *Bradewater* 1175 P

RO (Broadfield, TL3129, p. 154) BROADFIELD *Bradefeld(e)* 1195 P, [uncertain dating *Bradefeld(e)* t. Hy 2 (1508) Pat]

RW (Therfield, TL3337, p. 166) BRANDISH WOOD *Bradenach* 1161-77 AD iii

MDX

XO (Tottenham, TQ3390, p. 80) BROAD MEAD (*le*) *Brademade* 1197 FF

test item STONE-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

BED

41 (Stanbridge, SP9624, p. 132) STANBRIDGE *Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1165, 1175 P, *Stanbregge* 1196 FF (P)

CAM

96 (Long Stanton (All Saints and St Michael), TL3966, p. 184) LONG STANTON *Stanton(e)* 1161 P [*et passim*]

9A (Chippenham, TL6669, p. 190) STANNEL WOOD *Stanhille* 1184 [Hosp] [is so named c. 1825 (O.S.). Cf., *Stamhell* a. 1387 Walden,]

ELY

AM (Wimblington, TL4192, p. 265) STONEA *Staneie* 1170 LibEI

ESS

FF (Great and Little Stambridge, TQ9091, p. 202) STAMBRIDGE *Stanbruge* 1196 [FF]

G7 (Steeple, TL9302, p. 227) STANESGATE ABBEY (FM) *Stanesgata* 1163-70 AC, *Stanasgata* 1163-70 AC, *Stanisgat'* 1194 CurR

JZ (Colchester Streets, TL9925, p. 371) STANWELL ST *Stanwell(e)* 1180 P

KL (Stanway, TL9524, p. 398) STANWAY [*Stan*]-*weia* 1198 [Colch]

OA (Stansted Mountfitchet, TL5124, p. 534) PARKFIELD PLANTATION *Parcum de bosco de Stan(e)steda* 1184-91 P

HRT

SR (Standon, TL3822, p. 196) STANDON [*Stan*]-*don(e)* 1194 HMC ix [*et passim*]

SS (Stanstead Abbots, TL3911, p. 200) STANSTEAD ABBOTS *Stan(e)stede* 1198 FF [*et passim* to 1428 FA]

MDX

WK (Staines, TQ0471, p. 18-19) STAINES *Stanis* 1167 P

WL (Stanwell, TQ0573, p. 20) STANWELL *Stanewell(e)* 1199 FF [*et passim* to 1316 FA]

XI (Stanmore, TQ1691, p. 65) STANMORE *Stanmere* 793 (12th) BCS 267

test item STONE-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <au>

BED

51 (Upper Stondon, TL1435, p. 177) UPPER STONDON *Staundon* 1199 FF

ESS

CC (Stondon Massey, TL5800, p. 81) STONDON MASSEY *Staundune* 1062 (12th) KCD 813

test item OAK-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

ESS

JG (Great and Little Oakley, TM1927, p. 345) OAKLEY *Hacle* 1226 FF, *Acle(e)* 1219 FF, *Ak(e)le* 1248 Ass

MDX

XQ (The Borough of Acton, TQ2080, p. 81) ACTON *Aketon* 1211 Cur, 1213 Abbr, *Acton(e)* 1232 Cl

test item OAK-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <o>

HRT

PU (Shenley, TL1900, p. 68) OAKHURST (lost) *Ochers* 1248 FF

HUN

UQ (Woodhurst, TL3176, p. 229) OCKLEY (lost) *Ocleywode* 1245 For

test item OAK-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<o>

BED

1H (Oakley, TL0153, p. 24) OAKLEY *Aklye* 1220 LS, *Akle* 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, *Acle* 1236 FF, Cl, 1242 Fees 868, 1247 Ass, *Ocle* 1247 Ass

test item BROAD-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

ELY

9V (ELY, TL5480, p. 216) THE QUAY *Bradehide* 1210 ElyM



ESS

EX (Foulness, TR0092, p. 183 see p. 149) [PDE NAME MISSING] *Bradewerde* 1244 AD

[This name comes from a footnote on p. 149 (EPNS XII) that explains the etymology of the element *worde* ~ *warde*~*werde* found in a number of names described as marshes in the Hundreds of Barstable, Rochford (both of which border the Thames) and Dengie (which borders the river Crouch) in south-east Essex; Rochford and Dengie also border the North Sea.]

FP (Bradwell-juxta-Mare, TM0308, p. 209) BRADWELL-JUXTA-MARE *Brad(e)well(e)* 1212 Fees

HC (Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall, TL8022, p. 282) BRADWELL-JUXTA-COGGESHALL *Bradewell(e)* 1238 SR

Not mapped:

L1 (Birdbrook, TL7041, p. 411) BIRDBROOK *Bradebrock*, *Brid(e)brok(e)* 1248 Ass

The author excludes *brad-* as the first element and offers the following explanation “This name probably means just what its modern form suggests, viz . 'birds' brook,' and is derived from OE *brid(d)a-broc*, 'brook of the young birds.... At a later stage there seems to have been some confusion as to the first element.” EPNS XII: 411.

L2 (Bocking, TL7523, p. 414) BRADFORD HO *Bradford*, *Bredeford* 1248 Ass

The name may derive from the OE noun *brædu* (as opposed to the adjective *brad-*) which would explain a high number of *bred-* forms in the sources.

ND (Great and Little Bardfield and Bardfield Saling, TL6730, p. 504) BARDFIELD *Brad(e)feud* 1235 Ass. No clear etymology is offered for this name in the EPNS XII: 505, however the author excludes *brad-* as the first element.

HRT

QZ (Knebworth, TL2520, p. 130) BROADWATER *Bradewater(e)* 1221 FF

R3 (Great and Little Munden, TL3524, p. 133 see p. 288) BRAD CROFT *Bradecroft* 1211 FF

RO (Broadfield, TL3129, p. 154) BROADFIELD *Bradefeld(e)* 1222 FF

RW (Therfield, TL3337, p. 166) BRANDISH WOOD *Bradenech* 1221 FF

MDX

YA (The Borough of St Pancras, TQ3082, p. 140) BATTLEBRIDGE (now KINGS CROSS) *Bradeford* 1207 FF

test item BROAD-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<o>

ELY

AK (March, TL4196, p. 254) BRADNEY FM *Bradenhee (piscariam)* 1221 ElyA, *Brod-(h)ea* 1220-25 ElyCh i, *Brodhe* 1225 ElyCh i

test item STONE-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

CAM

96 (Long Stanton, TL3966, p. 183-4 see p. 368) STANWELL FIELD *Stanwell* 1228 FF

ESS

CC (Stondon Massey, TL5800, p. 81) STONDON MASSEY *Standon* 1202 FF, 1244 FF, 1238 SR

EH (Ramsden Bellhouse, TQ7194, p. 168) STANMER (lost) *Stan(e)mere* 1218, 1222 Fees

FF (Great and Little Stambridge, TQ9091, p. 202) STAMBRIDGE *Stanbruge* 1206 FF,

1230 P, 1248 Ass  
 KL (Stanway, TL9524, p. 398) STANWAY [*Stan*]-*weghen* 1215 CIR, -*wey(e)* 1234 FF, -*wy* 1248 Ass  
 LE (Halstead Rural, TL8130, p. 436 see 434) STANSTED HALL *Stansted* 1240 FF, 1248 Ass  
 M2 (Stambourne, TL7238, p. 456) STAMBOURNE *Stanburna*, -(*e*) 1227-47 Pat, [*et freq*] *Stamburn* 1221 FF  
 MP (Good Easter, TL6212, p. 480) NEWARKS (GREAT and LITTLE) (*la*) *Stane* 1236 Dugd v  
 OA (Stansted Mountfitchet, TL5124, p. 533) STANSTED MOUNTFITCHET *Stan(e)sted(e)* 1201 FF [*et freq*]

#### HRT

SR (Standon, TL3822, p. 196) STANDON [*Stan*] -*don(e)* 1234 Ch [*et freq* to 1307-14 Ipm], *Standune* 944-6 (c. 1250) BCS 812  
 SS (Stanstead Abbots, TL3911, p. 200) STANSTEAD ABBOTS [*Stan(e)*] -*stude* c. 1247 BM

#### MDX

WK (Staines, TQ0471, p. 20) STAINES BRIDGE *Stanes* 1228 CI  
 WL (Stanwell, TQ0573, p. 20) STANWELL *Stannewell* 1219 Abbr  
 XI (Stanmore, TQ1691, p. 65) STANMORE *Stammere* 1219 Pap, *Stanmere (magna)* 1235 Ass  
 XJ (Whitchurch, TQ1890, p. 66) WHITCHURCH *Stanmere* 1235 Fees, 1235 Ass

test item STONE-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <o>

#### BED

51 (Upper Stondon, TL1435, p. 177) UPPER STONDON *Stondon(e)* 1247 Ass

#### ELY

AM (Wimblington, TL4192, p. 265) STONEA *Ston(e)heye* 1221 ElyA [*et freq* to 1497 Ely F]

#### HRT

SB (Little Hormead, TL4029, p. 180) STONEBURY *Stoneberi* 1220 Fees

#### MDX

YJ (Westminster, TQ2979, p. 173) STONE CROSS (lost) *Stone Cross of la Straund* 1242 Pat

test item STONE-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<au>

#### BED

2X (Southill, TL1542, p. 97) STANFORD *Stamford* 1202 Ass, 1247 Ass, [and later 1377 CI Stand- 1535 VE, 1588 D] *Staunford* 1227 Ass, 1238 FF, 1247 Ass, [and later 1346 FA]

41 (Stanbridge, SP9624, p. 132) STANBRIDGE *Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1220 LS, 1242 Fees 867, *Stanbrig(g)e*, *Stanbrygge* 1202, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, CI, *Staunbrig(g)* 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, *Stanburgh* 1227 Ass, *Stantbrig* 1240 Ass; (half-hundred Stanbridge, SP9624, p. 113) *Stanbrigge* 1207 P, *Stanburgh* 1227 Ass

[The history of the name shows confusion between *-bridge* and *-burgh* in the second element of the name; see ]

#### CAM

96 (Long Stanton (All Saints and St Michael), TL3966, p. 183-4) LONG STANTON *Est Stantun* c. 1250 SR, *Stanton(e)* c. 1250 ElyA, *Staunton(e)* 1205 RBE [et freq to 1553 Pat]

#### ESS

C8 (Stanford Rivers, TL5303, p. 77) STANFORD RIVERS [*Stan*]-(*e*)*ford* 1212 RBE, *Staunford* 1243 Cl, 1246 FF [also in name non-initial position *Estanford* 1236 EAS xx]

#### HUN

W3 (Fen Stanton, TL3168, p. 267) FEN STANTON *Stantun(e)* 1234 Cl, *Staunton* 1227 Ass, 1229 Bract, 1234, 1236, 1238 Cl, [As indicated in the section "Not mapped" above, the earlier mention of STANTON: *Stantun(e)* c. 1150 cannot be placed confidently in the middle of the 12th c. as the spelling comes from a 14th c. copy, c. 1300-25, *Thorney* 168 b]

test item OAK-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

#### MDX

XQ (The Borough of Acton, TQ2080, p. 81) ACTON *Acton(e)* 1294 Ass [The name also appears with -OAK in name non-initial position in the period 1251-1300, see below.]

test item OAK-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

#### ESS

CW (Noak Hill, TQ6891, p. 116) NOAK HILL Richard *ate Noke* t. Ed 1 HPD  
DJ (Wennington, TQ5480, p. 140) NOAK HO Henry *atte Noke* t. Hy 3 StJohn  
H3 (Springfield, TL7208, p. 269) OAKLEY (lost) is *Ocle* 1291 For  
HO (Terling, TL7715, p. 297) NOAKE'S FM Thomas *atte Noke* [1285 Ass]

#### HRT

PU (Shenley, TL1900, p. 68) OAKHURST (lost) *Okersh* c. 1256 BM, *Ockerse* 1267 [FF], *Hokersse* 13th AD iv  
[*Acersce* 944-6 (13th) BCS 812, *Ac-* in this 13th century copy of a 10th century charter most likely preserves the 10th century spelling predating the OE /a:/ to eME /ɔ:/ change, especially in the light of consistent <o> spelling recorded from 1248 onwards.]  
QP (Aston, TL2722, p. 118) OAK'S CROSS Robert *ate Noke* (ib.) [1294 SR]

test item OAK-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>

#### BED

1H (Oakley, TL0153, p. 24) OAKLEY *Akle* 1279 RH, *Acle* 1267 Ch, 1276 Ass, 1291 Tax, 1292 Cl, *Ocle* 1276, 1287 Ass, 1291 NI, *Okle(e)* 1276 Ass

#### ESS

JG (Great and Little Oakley, TM1927, p. 345) OAKLEY *Acle(e)* et freq (*Magna*) 1256 FF, *Ak(e)le* 1268 Ipm, -*ly* 1286 FF, *Ocle* 1294 Pat, *Okle* 1298 FF

HUN

UQ (Woodhurst, TL3176, p. 229) OCKLEY (lost) *Ocleywode* 1286 For, *Acle(y)* 1254-67 AD i, *Oklee* 1260 Ass, [*Occle* 1251 (c. 1350) Rams, uncertain date, as the spelling is taken from the mid-fourteenth century source.]

test item BROAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

ELY

AK (March, TL4196, p. 254) BRADNEY FM *Brad(e)ne(-cote)* 1298 Ass

ESS

BJ (Roydon, TL4010, p. 50) BROADLEY COMMON *Bradeleye* t. Hy 3 Waltham  
EP (Vange, TQ7287, p. 174-5 see p. 610) BRADFORD MARSH *Bradewerde Mariscus de North, Sud* t. Ed 1 [BM]  
FP (Bradwell-juxta-Mare, TM0308, p. 209) BRADWELL-JUXTA-MARE *Brad(e)well(e)* 1261 FF, *Bradfelt in mari* 1285 Misc  
IU (Bradfield, TM1430, p. 329) BRADFIELD *Bradeford* 1254 Ass  
IU (Bradfield, TM1430, p. 330) STREET FM Alvred de Strete de *Bradefeud* 1255 Ass  
LV (Pentlow, TL8144, p. 451) BRADFIELD'S FM William de *Bradefeud* 1255 FF  
M7 (Toppesfield, TL7337, p. 464) BRADFIELD'S FM Robert de *Bradefeud* 1272 Ass

HRT

QZ (Knebworth, TL2520, p. 130) BROADWATER *Bradewater(e)* 13th Wymondley  
RW (Therfield, TL3337, p. 166) BRANDISH WOOD [*Braden*] -ache t. Hy 3 AD iii (p), [*Braden*] -hach 1294 SR (p), *boscus de Bradnache* 1294 AddCh  
SM (Braughing, TL3924, p. 190 see p. 301) LITTLE BRAID *Brade* 13th AD iv  
SQ (Sawbridgeworth, TL4815, p. 194 see p. 303) BRADLEY *Bradelegesfeld* 1257 Ass  
XN (North Mimms, TL2201, p. 66) BRADMORE Adam de *Brademere* 1296 SR

MDX

XD (Edgware, TQ1992, p. 50-1) BROADFIELDS AVENUE *Bradfeld* 1281 Ct  
XO (Tottenham, TQ3390, p. 80) BROAD MEAD [(*le*) *Brade-*] -mede 1294 Ass

test item BROAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

ELY

9V (Ely, TL5480, p. 215) BROAD ST *Brodlane* 1280 Rental

ESS

BC (Hatfield Broad Oak, TL5416, p. 43) BROAD STREET (GREEN) *le Brodestrate* 13th AddCh  
MG (Broxted, TL5726, p. 472) BROADWATER FORD *Brodewatere* 13th StJohn  
MM (Great Dunmow, TL6221, p. 475) THE BROADWAY *Brodstrete* 13th Dunmow

HRT

PR (Aldenharn, TQ1398, p. 59 see p. 273) BROAD FIELD *Brodefeld* t. Ed 1 WDB  
Q6 (Rickmansworth, TQ0494, p. 83 see p. 277) BROAD FIELD *le Brodemade* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO  
SS (Stanstead Abbots, TL3911, p. 200 see p. 305) BROADHOLME *le Brodeholm* 13th WalthamB

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

## BED

- 41 (Stanbridge, SP9624, p. 132) STANBRIDGE *Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Stanbrig(g)e*, *Stanbrygge* 1284 FA, (half-hundred Stanbridge, SP9624, p. 113) *Stanbrigge* 1284 FA, *Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1287 Ass, *Stanbrich* 1276 Ass, *Stambrug* 1292 Ipm

## CAM

- 6R (Shudy Camps, TL6144, p. 103 see p. 363) STONE FIELD *Stanfeld* 13th Waltham

## ESS

- BD (Latton, TL4606, p. 44 see p. 603) STANGROVE *al.* Standing Grove *Stangravehil* 1269 Ipm  
DJ (Wennington, TQ5480, p. 140) [PDE NAME MISSING] *Standune (ad quercum)* t. Hy 3 StJohn  
EH (Ramsden Bellhouse, TQ7194, p. 168) STANMER (lost) *Stan(e)mere* t. Hy 3 WalthamA, *Stamere* [t. Hy 3 WalthamA (p)]  
G7 (Steeple, TL9302, p. 227) STANESGATE ABBEY(FM) [*Stanes*] -gate 1254 FF, *Stan(e)gate* 1295 Pat [subsequently also with <ay> *Stayngat(e)* 1337 Cl, Fine, Pat, 1341 Cl]  
KL (Stanway, TL9524, p. 398) STANWAY *Stanewey(e)* 1294 FF  
KL (Stanway, TL9524, p. 399) STANWAY HEATH John *Attehethe de Stanwey* 1272 Ass, *Stanwayhath* 13th WalthamA  
L4 (Braintree, TL7623, p. 417) STANFORD FM *Stanford* 1285 Ass  
LE (Halstead Rural, TL8130, p. 434 see also 436) STANSTED HALL *Stansted* 1264 FF, 1264 Misc, [*Stan*] -(e)*stede* 1254 EAS xviii, 1285 Ass, 1286 FF  
LU (Pebmarsh, TL8533, p. 451) STANLEY HALL *Stan(e)legh* 1282 Pat, -*ley(e)* 1287 Abbr  
M2 (Stambourne, TL7238, p. 456) STAMBOURNE *Stanburna*, -(e) 1221-54 FF, *Stamburn* 1255 Ass, *Stalburn* (sic!) 1275 RH  
OA (Stansted Mountfitchet, TL5124, p. 533) STANSTEAD MOUNTFITCHET *Stan(e)sted(e)* 1288-92 Ass, *Stanste* 1292 Ass

## HRT

- QY (Bishops Hatfield, TL2207, p. 128) STANBOROUGH *Stanberue* 1277 Ely, -*berwe* 1296 SR (p)  
SS (Stanstead Abbots, TL3911, p. 200) STANSTEAD ABBOTS *Stanested(e)* 1261 FF, 1296 BM

## HUN

- VH (Upton, TL1778, p. 249) STANGATE HILL *Stangate* 1286 Ass

## MDX

- WK (Staines, TQ0471, p. 18) STAINES *Stana* 969 (13th) BCS 1264, *Stane* 1066 (13th) KCD 855  
WL (Stanwell, TQ0573, p. 20) STANWELL *Staneswell* 1258 FF, *Stannewell* 1291 Tax  
WL (Stanwell, TQ0573, p. 21) STANWELLMOOR *Stanewell* 1274 Ass  
XI (Stanmore, TQ1691, p. 65) STANMORE *Stanmere* 1274 Ass, *Stanemere* 1279 QW  
XJ (Whitchurch, TQ1890, p. 66) WHITCHURCH *Stanmere parva* 1291 Tax, 1294 Ass, *Stanmere* 13th RBE

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

## CAM

- 6I (Whittlesford, TL4748, p. 98) STANMOOR HALL *Stonimere* 1290 Barnwell

## ELY

AL (Whittlesey, TL2797, p. 262) STONALD FIELD *Stonhale* 13th [Thorney] [this name appears also with *-stan-* in non-initial position, spelt *Littlestanhale* c. 1246 Thorney]  
AM (Wimblington, TL4192, p. 265) STONEA *Stoney(e)*, *-a* 1251 ElyCouch [*et freq* to 1760 EA xiii]

#### ESS

BJ (Roydon, TL4010, p. 50) STONESHOT COMMON *Stonishote* t. Ed 1 Waltham  
GZ (Roxwell, TL6408, p. 265) STONEHILL FM Gilbert de *Stonhulle* 1278 Ass  
IP (Ardleigh, TM0529, p. 327) HART'S LANE *Stonhard le Hert* 1276 For  
M3 (Stebbing, TL6624, p. 459-60) STONE'S FM Robert *Stone* 1293 Rental

#### HRT

SR (Standon, TL3822, p. 194) STANDON *Stondon* t. Hy 3 BM [the PDE form has *stan-*; also <a> forms were found till late 14th c. but are only mentioned *et passim*]

#### MDX

XE (Harrow, TQ1488, p. 54) WEALDSTONE John *atte Stone* 1282 MxRec

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>

#### ESS

MP (Good Easter, TL6212, p. 480) NEWARKS (GREAT and LITTLE) (*la*) *Stane* 1252 FF, *Stone by Godyve Estre* 1289 [FF]  
[EPNS XII: 480 "The modern name derives from the family of John de Newerkes". EPNS XII: 480 suggests that *Stane* covered a wider area which stretched from Good Easter to Mashbury east of Good Easter in Dunmow hundred as well as south of Good Easter to the parish of Roxwell in Chelmsford hundred. For a *stan-* name in Roxwell, see data listing for item *stan-* period: 1251-1300, spelling <o> place name STONEHILL FM, GZ.]

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<ai>

#### HUN

U2 (Stanground, TL2096, p. 199) STANGROUND *Stangrund* 1270 Ass, *Standgrund* 1276 RH, *Staingrunt* 1286 QW, *Stainground* 1286 Ass

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o> <ay>

#### HUN

VB (Kimbolton, TL0967, p. 244-5) STONELY *Stanlegh* 1260 Ass, *Stonle(gh)* 1260 Ass, *Stonle(gh)* 1260 E 1 BM, *Stonle(gh)* 1279 RH [*et passim*], *Staynley* 1287 Ass

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <au>

#### ESS

EJ (Stanford-le-Hope, TQ6882, p. 170) STANFORD-LE-HOPE *Staunford* 1267 FF  
[*stan-* forms appear in the data after 1300 as follows: *Stanford* 1068 (1309) EHR xi, *et passim*, (*-upon-Thames*) 1338 Cl, (*in the Hope*) 1361 FF, (*in le Hope, Hoop*) 1475, 1485 IpmR, (*Le Hope*) 1535 VE, *Stanford by Horndon* 1342 Ipm, *Stanvorde* 1412 Pat, *Standford* 1068 (1377) EHR xi, *Standeford Le Hope* 1535 VE, *Stanbrok* (alias *Stanford*) 1324 Ipm, *Stamford* 1348, 1349 Pap, *Stamvert*, *-verd Le Hope* 1662, 1678



Stifford]

FF (Great and Little Stambridge, TQ9091, p. 202) STAMBRIDGE *Staunbregg'* 1261 FF, *Staumbrugge* 1279 FF

[*stan-* forms appear in the data before 1251 (see the *stan-* data above) and after 1300 as follows: *Stanbruge* (*Moche-*) 1503 Ipm, - *bregg(e)* 1328 Londin, -*bridge* (*Mekill*) 1493-1500 ECP, (*Myche*) 1548 EAS xiii, 1768 M, *Stanyngbrugg* 1363 Londin, *Parva Stannebryght* 1412, *Stambrigge* 1428 FA, *muche Stam-bridge* 1578 Rental, *Great Standbridge* 1552 FF]

FK (Little Wakering, TQ9388, p. 205) STONEBRIDGE *Staunbrigge* 1279 FF [*Stone Bridge* in 1805 (O)]

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<au>

CAM

96 (Long Stanton (All Saints and St Michael), TL3966, p. 184) LONG STANTON *Stanton(e)* 1254 Val, 1285 Ass, 1281 Ipm, *Staunton(e)* 1272 Ass; [subsequently also <ai> *Long Stainton* 1438 IpmR]

ESS

CC (Stondon Massey, TL5800, p. 81) STONDON MASSEY [*Staun*]-*don(e)* 1291 Tax, [*Staun*]-*den(e)* 1295 [Ipm], [*Stan*]- *dun'* 1255 FF  
[<o> in PDE; *Ston-* [*Staun*]-*don(e)* 1308 Ipm, Fine, 1314, 1374 Cl (*by Aungre*) 1324 Londin, 1328 Banco (*Marcy*) 1371 Londin, 1314 Ipm but also *Ston(n)don(e)* 1308 Ipm, 1316 BM, 1320 Pat, *Stondon (Masse)* 1542 Waller, (*Massie*) 1624 AddCh]

C8 (Stanford Rivers, TL5303, p. 77) STANFORD RIVERS [*Stan*]-(*e*)*ford* (*ryueres juxta Aungre*) 1289 Ass, ( *Ripar'*) 1292 FF, -*vord(e)* 1291 Tax, *Staunford* 1255 Ass, (*Magna*) 1285 QW

HUN

W3 (Fen Stanton, TL3168, p. 267) FEN STANTON *Staunton* 1253 Ch, 1254, 1257 FF, 1286 Ass, *Stanton Grysebryke*, *Gryseby* 1257 FF, 1280 Ch, 1286 Ass, 1292 Ch, *Staunton Gryseby* 1272 FF

[see also: *Fenstanton* 1260 Ass, in the section OE /a:/ in name non-initial position below.]

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>~<au>

BED

51 (Upper Stondon, TL1435, p. 177) UPPER STONDON *Staundon* 1276, 1287 Ass, 1291 Tax, AD iv, *Stondon(e)* 1252 FF, 1276, 1297 Ass

[the DB entry *Standone* is followed by a comment “*et passim* to 1712 BM” (EPNS III: 177); this indicates that the spelling *Standone* appeared in records until 1712, it is not clear whether any *stan-* forms appeared in the period 1100-1300 as dates and sources are not provided]

Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position in a name

test item -OAK

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>



HRT

R6 (Stevenage, TL2424, p. 137-8) STEVENAGE *Stigenace* 1086 DB

[The listing of forms is accompanied by the following note: "At the stiff (i.e. strong or firm) oak,' v. *ac*. The first element is OE *stiðe*. The series of forms set forth here make *æc*, dative singular of *ac*, more likely than *hæcc*," (EPNS XV: 138)]

test item -STONE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

BED

2P (Wixamtree Hundred, TL1246, p. 87) WIXAMTREE *Wichestanestou*, *Wichenestanestou* 1086 DB

ESS

MS (Great and Little Easton, TL6125, p. 484) EASTON (GREAT and LITTLE) *Eistanes* 1086 DB, *Estanes* 1086 DB

HRT

QI (Hexton, TL1030, p. 112) HEXTON *Hegestanestone*, *Hegæstanestone* 1086 DB

HUN

UE (Hurstingstone Hundred, TL3077, p. 203) HURSTINGSTONE *Hyrstingestan*, *Hertingestan*, *Herstingestan* 1086 DB [Hursting Stone, from which the name derived, was located "a mile and a half to the south of Old Hurst" EPNS III (p. 204)]

VA (Keyston, TL0475, p. 243) KEYSTON *Chetelestan* 1086 DB

MDX

XP (Ossulstone Hundred, TQ2882, p. 81) OSSULSTONE *Osulvestan(e)* 1086 DB  
[the localisation is approximate only]

YB (The Borough of Shoreditch, TQ3282, p. 146) HAGGERSTON *Hergotestane* 1086 DB

[The second element may be *-tun* and not *-stan*. The next form is *-tune Hergotestune* c. 1220 Add]

test item -STONE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>~<o>~<u>

HUN

VC (Leightonstone Hundred, TL1175, p. 231) LEIGHTONSTONE *Lestone*, *Lestone*, *Deleston*, *Lectunestane* 1086 DB

["The stone at which the hundred-meeting was held is marked on Bowen's map just to the south of Leighton Bromswold, on the right side of the road, where the 1 in. *Ordnance* Map marks 'The Castle.' This site is central for the Hundred" EPNS III (p. 231)]

test item -OAK

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <o>

ESS

BC (Hatfield Broad Oak, TL5416, p. 39) HATFIELD BROAD OAK *Hatfeld Brodehoke* 1121-36 WDB [unreliable, explained in an earlier footnote re. *brode-*]

test item -STONE

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>

ESS

KL (Stanway, TL9524, p. 398) STANWAY *Eststanweya* 1119 Colch

[This is the only occurrence of -*stan* in this name in non-initial position as opposed to several occurrences in name-initial position in the period from 1100 to 1300; see above for details.]

HRT

SC (Layston with Buntingford, TL3629, p. 181) LAYSTON *Lefstanchirch* 1136-50 BM

HUN

UE (Hurstingstone Hundred, TL3077, p. 203) HURSTINGSTONE *Herstingestan* c. 1120-30 [BM], c. 1136-40 BM

test item -STONE

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>~<u>

ESS

MS (Great and Little Easton, TL6125, p. 485) EASTON (GREAT and LITTLE) *Eastuna* 1119 Colch, *Estuna(m)* [1119 Colch], 1121 AC, *Ei-*, *Eystan(e)* 1141 Mandeville

test item -OAK

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

HRT

R6 (Stevenage, TL2424, p. 137-8) STEVENAGE [*Stithen-*] -*hache* 1200 FF

RA (Weston, TL2630, p. 146) LANNOCK *Langenache* 12th Dugd vi

RW (Therfield, TL3337, p. 166) BRANDISH WOOD (6") *Bradenach* 1161-77 Ramsey

test item -STONE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

ESS

F7 (Rayleigh, TQ8190, p. 195) LESTENESTON *Lestaniston'* (*Leostanton* ChancR) 1173 P (p), *Lefstanistona* (*Leofstaneston* ChancR) 1175 P (p)

HRT

QB (St Stephens, TL1306, p. 97) BURSTON FM *Burstan* 12th StAlbansN

QI (Hexton, TL1030, p. 112) HEXTON *Hecstanestun* 1151-66 [Gesta], *Hehstanestune* 12th Gesta

SC (Layston with Buntingford, TL3629, p. 181) LAYSTON *Leostanecherche* 1197 AC, *Loefstaneschirche* 12th AD v, *Liefstaneschirch* 12th AD

HUN

VA (Keyston, TL0475, p. 243) KEYSTON *Chetelestan* 1163, 1166 P, *Ketelestan* 1172 P, *Ketillistan* 1173 P

MDX

XP (Ossulstone Hundred, TQ2882, p. 81) OSSULSTONE *Osulfestan* 1167, 1168 P, *Osolvistan* 1172 P

test item -STONE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>~<o>

BED

2P (Wixamtree Hundred, TL1246, p. 87) WIXAMTREE *Wixtanestre* 1162 P, *Wic(h) stanestre* 1163, 1169 P, *Wich Stanestre* 1175 P, *Wicstanistre* 1173, 1175 P, *Wichstonestre* 1176 P, *Wixtonestre*, *Wyxtonestre* 1183 P, *Wikestonestou* 1185 P, *Wicstanestan* 1191 P

[item STONE has not been analysed as name-initial in the light of the overwhelming evidence for its use in non-initial position]

HUN

TW (Morborne, TL1391, p. 192) OGERSTON *Ogerestan(e)* 1185 (c. 1200) Templars, *Oggereston* 1189 ChR

UE (Hurstingstone Hundred, TL3077, p. 203) HURSTINGSTONE *Hurstingestan* 1168 P, *Horstingestan* 1169 P, *Hurstincton* 1189 BM

VC (Leightonstone Hundred, TL1175, p. 231) LEIGHTONSTONE *Lehtunestan* 1163 P, *Lectunestan* 1168 P, *Lectunestane* 1175 P *Leochstoneston* 1180 P

test item -STONE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>~<o>~<u>

ESS

MS (Great and Little Easton, TL6125, p. 485) EASTON (GREAT and LITTLE) *Eistanes* 1195 P, [*Es*] *-tune* 1135-54 Colch, [*Es*] *-ton(a)* 1154-89 [Colch], 1198 FF, *Ei-*, *Eystan(e)* 1166 [RBE], *Aistana* 1167 StJohn

test item -OAK

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<e>

HRT

R6 (Stevenage, TL2424, p. 137-8) STEVENAGE [*Stithen-*] *-ac'* 1201 Cur, *-ache* 1204 FF (*et passim* to 1428 FA with variant spelling), *Styth-*, *Stidenach'* 1203 Cur, *-hach* 1229 Pat, *Stivenach(e)* 1201 Cur (*et freq* to 1320 FF with variant spelling), *Stitheneche* 1230 FF

test item -OAK

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

HRT

RW (Therfield, TL3337, p. 166) BRANDISH WOOD (6") *Bradenech* 1221 FF

test item -BROAD

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <o>

HUN

UJ (St Ives, TL3072, p. 221) BROADWAY *Langebrodeweie* 1217 FF [however, after 1300 *broad* appears with <a> and <o> in initial position *Bradeweye* 1301 and *Brodweydich* 1317]

MDX

XM (Enfield, TQ3396, p. 71 see p. 213) BROADFIELD *Est- Westbrodefeld* 1228 RecStBarts

test item -STONE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

BED

2P (Wixamtree Hundred, TL1246, p. 87) WIXAMTREE *Wistanestre* 1202 Ass, *Wykestanestre* 1247 Ass

ELY

AL (Whittlesey, TL2797, p. 262) STONALD FIELD *Litlestanhale* c. 1246 Thorney

ESS

F7 (Rayleigh, TQ8190, p. 195) LESTENESTON *Lestaneston(e)* 1233 Fees, 1245 FineR (p)

HRT

SC (Layston with Buntingford, TL3629, p. 181) LAYSTON *Lefstanescherch* 1220 Pat

HUN

TW (Morborne, TL1391, p. 192) OGERSTON *Ogerestan(e)* 1227 Ch

VC (Leightonstone Hundred, TL1175, p. 231) LEIGHTONSTONE *Lehtonestan* 1227 Ass

MDX

XP (Ossulstone Hundred, TQ2882, p. 81) OSSULSTONE [*Osol*] -ves- [*tan*] 1235 Ass

test item -STONE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<o>

HTR

QI (Hexton, TL1030, p. 112) HEXTON *Hecstonstun* 1219 Pap, *Hexsfanestone* 1235 FF

HUN

UE (Hurstingstone Hundred, TL3077, p. 203) HURSTINGSTONE *Hirstingestan* 1207 P, *Hirsilingestan* 1209 For, 1227 Ass, *Hurstingeston* 1227 Ass

VA (Keyston, TL0475, p. 243) KEYSTON *Ketelestan* 1209 For, *Ketstan* 1227 Ass (p), *Ketlestan* 1227 Ass, *Ketelston* 1248 For

test item -STONE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <o>~<u>

MDX

YB (The Borough of Shoreditch, TQ3282, p. 146) HAGGERSTON *Hergotestune* c. 1220 Add, *Heregodeston* 1221-30 Fees, *Haregodeston* 1242 Fees, *Hargodestone* 1250 StPaulsMSS

test item -STONE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<o>~<ay>~<ey>

ESS

MS (Great and Little Easton, TL6125, p. 485) EASTON (GREAT and LITTLE) *Ei-*, *Eystan(e)* 1212 RBE, (*ad Montem*) 1236 Fees, 1244-6 Ch, (*Atemunte*) 1247 FF, *Eyston* 1219 Fees, (*Atemunte*) 1247 FF, *Estane (Alatur)* 1235 Ass, *Eystaynes*, *Eysteynes* 1248 Ass

test item -OAK

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

HRT

RW (Therfield, TL3337, p. 166) BRANDISH WOOD (6") [*Braden*] -*ache* t. Hy 3 AD iii (p), [*Braden*] -*hach* 1294 SR (p), *boscus de Bradnache* 1294 AddCh

MDX

XQ (The Borough of Acton, TQ2080, p. 82) EAST ACTON *Estacton* 1294 Ass [The name also appears with OAK- in name-initial position in the period 1251-1300 and earlier, see above.]

test item -OAK

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<e>

HRT

R6 (Stevenage, TL2424, p. 137-8) STEVENAGE *Stitenache* t. Hy 3 BM, *Styv-*, *Stivenhache* 1278 Ass, *Stitheneche* 1259 Pat, *Stiveneche* 1255, *Stytheneche* 1294 FF, *Stepenacath* 1275 RH, *Stevenach(e)* c. 1295 Gesta, *Stethenhach* 1293 WAM

test item -OAK

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

HRT

RA (Weston, TL2630, p. 146) LANNOCK *Langenok* 1255 Ass, -*och* 13th Wymondley  
RV (Sandon, TL3234, p. 164) GANNOCK John *atte Gannok* 1287 Ass

test item -BROAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

ESS

E2 (Horndon-on- the-Hill, TQ6683, not p. 157-8 but p. 149) [PDE NAME MISSING] *Suthbradeworde* 1252 FF, 13th BM  
[This name comes from a footnote on p. 149 (EPNS XII) that explains the etymology of the element *worde* ~ *warde*~*werde* found in a number of names described as marshes in the Hundreds of Barstable, Rochford (which border the Thames) and Dengie (which borders the river Crouch) in south-east Essex; Rochford and Dengie also border the North Sea.]

NU (Great Chesterford, TL5042, p. 520) BURTONWOOD FM is *B(o)urt(h)on(e)(brade)* 1285 Ass

[cf. Bradford Street *supra* 413. The note for Bradford Street suggests that the first element was OE noun 'breadth' rather than the adjective 'broad']. It is not clear whether Reaney suggests that the element *-brade* in *B(o)urt(h)on(e)(brade)* should be also derived from OE *brædu* since he does not list examples of spelling with *brede-* for this name.]

test item -STONE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

CAM

8S (Swavesey, TL3668, p. 173) LONG STANTON FIELD FM *Longstanton'* 1287 Rental

HRT

QI (Hexton, TL1030, p. 112) HEXTON *Hexsfanestone* 1259 MP

HUN

TW (Morborne, TL1391, p. 192) OGERSTON *Ogerestan(e)* 1253 Pat, 13th AD iv [subsequently <o> from 1305]

W3 (Fen Stanton, TL3168, p. 267) FEN STANTON *Fenstanton* 1260 Ass

test item -STONE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<e>

ESS

F7 (Rayleigh, TQ8190, p. 195) LESTENESTON *Lestaneston(e)* t. Hy 3 RBE, *Lefstan(e) stun* t. Hy 3 Ipm, 1293 FF (p), *Lesteneston* 1256 [FineR], 1293 FF

test item -STONE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

ESS

GS (Ingatestone and Fryerning, TQ6499, p. 253) INGATESTONE *Ging(g)es*, *Gynges* (*Atteston*) 1283 Cl, *Ginge*, *Gynge* (*Attestone*) 1289 Ch, 1291 For

LL (Bures, TL8935, p. 420 see p. 626) BLOSSOMS LYE *Blac-* *Blakestone(s)hey(e)*, *-is-* 1291 For

HRT

QB (St Stephens, TL1306, p. 97) BURSTON FM *Berston* 1296 SR (p)

MDX

XP (Ossulstone Hundred, TQ2882, p. 81) OSSULSTONE *Osolvestone*, *Osulveston*, *Osolston* 1274 Ass, *Oselston* 1290 Ipm

XX (Friern Barnet, TQ2892, p. 100-1) WHETSTONE *Whetston* 1271 FF

YB (The Borough of Shoreditch, TQ3282, p. 146) HAGGERSTON *Hergodeston* 1274 Ass, [*Hergote-*] *-ston* 1274 Ass, Cl

test item -STONE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>

BED

2P (Wixamtree Hundred, TL1246, p. 87) WIXAMTREE *Wistanestre* 1276 Ass, *Wyston* (*e)stre* 1284 FA, *Wixtonestre*, *Wyxtonestre* 1287 Ass

ESS

MS (Great Easton, TL6125, p. 485) BAMSTER'S *Eystan Blaumost'*, *Eyston Blamuster* 1285 Ass

#### HRT

SC (Layston with Buntingford, TL3629, p. 181) LAYSTON *Lefstanecherch* 1252-8 AD i, *Lefstonchirche* 1255 Ass, *Lefstonechurch* 1279 FF, *Lefstonescherch* 1287 AD i, *Lestoncherche* 1287 FF, [Le] -stone- [cherche] 13th AD iv, *Leston Cherche* 1289 AD iii [subsequently also <ey>: *Leyston* 1348 Cl, 1362 FF, 1535 VE]

#### HUN

UE (Hurstingstone Hundred, TL3077, p. 203) HURSTINGSTONE *Hyrstingston*, *Hirstyngston* 1255 For, *Hirstingestan* 1270 Ass

VA (Keyston, TL0475, p. 243) KEYSTON *Keston* 1255 (et passim to 1442 IpmR), *Ketston* 1260 Ass, *Kestan* 1260 Ass, 1272 FF, 1286 Orig, 1293 Ipm, 1299 FF [subsequently also <ai>~<ay> *Kaiston* 1526 LS, *Keyston* 1553 FF, *Kayston* al. *Keyston* 1560 FF]

VC (Leightonstone Hundred, TL1175, p. 231) LEIGHTONSTONE *Lettonestan* 1255 For, *Lectonestan* 1285 FA, *Leytonestan* 1295 BM

test item -STONE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>~<u>~<ai>

#### ESS

MS (Great and Little Easton, TL6125, p. 484) EASTON (GREAT and LITTLE) *Eystanes* 1267 Abbr, 1269 Ch, *Aystan (Atte Mund)* 1275 FF, [Es] [-ton(a)] (*Done*) 1294 [FF], *Ei-*, *Eystan(e) (Petyt)* 1272 Ass, 1277 FF, *Eyston (Doune)* 1285 BM, FF, (*Dun-*) 1291 Cl, *Eyeston* 1294 Ipm, *Estaines* 1261, 1280 Ipm, (*in*) *Majori Estones* t. Hy 3 Ipm, *Extanis* 1280 Ipm



## Appendix C: OE /y/ Data

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BRIDGE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <u>

CAM

56 (Cambridge, TL4658, p. 38) BRIDGE WARD *Bruggewarde* 1086 InqEl

test item MILL-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

BED

2K (Millbrook, TL0138, p. 82) MILLBROOK *Melebroc* 1086 DB

35 (Dunton, TL2344, p. 103) MILLOW *Melehou* 1086 DB

test item BURY-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

ESS

E9 (Langdon *alias* Laindon Hills, TQ6786, p. 163) GREAT and LITTLE BERRY  
Richard de *la Bere* 1200 Cur

test item BURY-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <u>

HRT

QB (St Stephens, TL1306, p. 97) BURSTON FM *Burstan* 12th Ch, *Burston(e)* t. Ric 1  
Ch

test item MILL-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

BED

2K (Millbrook, TL0138, p. 82) MILLBROOK *Melebroc* 1185 (c. 1200) Templars

test item MILL-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <u>

HRT

PF (Hemel Hempstead, TL0607, p. 270) MILL MEADOW *Mulnefeld* c. 1200 Miss

test item MILL-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<u>

BED

35 (Dunton, TL2344, p. 103) MILLOW *Melinho* 1062 (12th) KCD 813, *Mul(e)nho* 12th  
c. HarlCh 83 B 39 (p), *Melho* 12th c. HarlCh 83 A 47 (p)

test item RIDGE-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i>

HRT

Q7 (Ridge, TL2100, p. 83) RIDGE *la Rigge* 1248 FF, *la Regge* [1248 FF], c. 1250 WAM

test item BURY-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>

ESS

GX (Mountnessing, TQ6297, p. 262) BURY WOOD *birigwode* 1250 CottCh

test item BURY-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <u>

CAM

6H (Sawston, TL4849, p. 97) BOROUGH GROVE William de *Burgo* 1236 Cl

test item MILL-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

ESS

M4 (Stisted, TL8024, p. 460 see p. 635) MILL FIELD *le Melnefeld* 1239 FF

HRT

SX (Westmill, TL1730, p. 209) WESTMILL *West Melne* 1225 FF

T5 (BENGEO, TL3213, p. 215 see p. 309) MILL MEAD *la Melweie* 1220 FF

test item MILL-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>

ESS

N1 (High Roding, TL6017, p. 493) MILLER'S GREEN Geoffrey the *millar* 1208 FF

MDX

YC (The Borough of Stepney, TQ3481, p. 152) WAPPING *mill called Wapping in Stebbehey* 1231 FF [also: *molendina de Wapping'* 1218-26 StPaulsCh]

test item MILL-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <u>

BED

2U (Moggerhanger, TL1449, p. 93) SOUTH MILLS *South Mulne* 1245 Ipm

test item MILL-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>

BED

2K (Millbrook, TL0138, p. 82) MILLBROOK *Mulebrok* 1220 LS, *Millbrook* 1227 Ass, *Melebrok(e)* 1247 Ass

35 (Dunton, TL2344, p. 103) MILLOW *Melnho* 1202 Ass, FF, 1247 Ass, *Milcho* 1201 Cur, *Mulho* 1204 FF, 1227 Ass, *Miln(e)ho* 1247 Ass

test item BRIDGE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

ESS

JZ (Colchester, TL9925, p. 377) ST BOTOLPH'S BRIDGE *Godulves bregge* 13th Oath [also *pontem Godulfi* 13th Colch]

HRT

SQ (Sawbridgeworth, TL4815, p. 195) BRIDGEFOOT FM Thomas ate *Brege* 1294 SR

test item BRIDGE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>

ESS

MM (Great Dunmow, TL6221, p. 476) STRATFORD *Stratford Brigg extra Dunmawe*  
1285 Ass

HUN

TQ (Farcet, TL2094, p. 185) FARCET *Faresheved Brygg* 1279 RH

test item BRIDGE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

HRT

SC (Layston with Buntingford, TL3629, p. 182) BRIDGEFOOT Walter ate *Bruge* 1294  
SR

test item BRIDGE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

CAM

56 (Cambridge, TL4658, p. 44) BRIDGE ST *Briggestrate* 1254 Cl, *Bruggestrete* 1290  
StJohn's

test item RIDGE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

HRT

Q7 (Ridge, TL2100, p. 83) RIDGE (*la*) *Rugge* 1255, 1278 Ass, 1291 Tax

test item BURY-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

ESS

B6 (Waltham Holy Cross, TL3800, p. 31) BURY FM Walter de *Bery* t. Hy 3 Waltham  
BJ (Roydon, TL4010, p. 50) ROYDON BURY *Le Bery* t. Hy 3 Waltham

HRT

OS (Hitchin, TL1930, p. 9) BEARTON GREEN *Berton(e)* 1287 Ass, 1294, 1296 SR  
[also *Biertun* 13th Hosp]

QB (St Stephens, TL1306, p. 97) BURSTON FM *Berston* 1296 SR

MDX

XD (Edgware, TQ1992, p. 51) EDGWARE BURY *Berifel* 1277 Rental

test item BURY-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>

CAM

5F (Melbourn, TL3844, p. 59) MELBOURN BURY Alice de *Byry* 1272 Ass

HUN

U9 (Bury, TL2883, p. 206) BURY *Biria, Birig, Byrig, Biri, Biry, Byri* 1253, 1297 BM,  
1300 Ct [earlier (*æt*) *Byryg* c. 1000]

VU (Hemingford Abbots and Grey, TL2770, p. 260) LITTLEBURY *Lytle Biryhill* 13th  
AD iii [also in name non-initial position in 1201-1250]

test item BURY-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

BED

3V (Houghton Regis, TL0124, p. 128) BURY SPINNEY *Buridene* 1295 FF

ESS

E9 (Langdon *alias* Laindon Hills, TQ6786, p. 163) GREAT and LITTLE BERRY  
*Burimore* 13th AD ii

HRT

PF (Hemel Hempstead, TL0607, p. 42) BURYMILL END *Burmilne* 1290 VCH ii

T9 (Cheshunt, TL3502, p. 222) BURY GREEN William de *Bury* 1294 SR

test item BURY-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i>

ESS

B5 (Nazeing, TL4106, p. 26) NAZEINGBURY *del Biry, ate Bery* 1270 Ct, t. Ed 1  
Waltham

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

CAM

56 (Cambridge, TL4658, p. 38) MILNE WARD *Melnewarde* 1298 Ass

ESS

BJ (Roydon, TL4010, p. 49 see p. 603) MILL MEAD *Melnfeld* c. 1300 Waltham

EQ (Wickford, TQ7493, p. 176 see p. 610) MILL FIELD *Melnfeld* 1299 Ipm

IV (Brightlingsea, TM0817, p. 330 see p. 618) MILL FIELD *Melnemad* 1300 Dickin

L1 (Birdbrook, TL7041, p. 411 see p. 624-5) MILL MEADOW *Le Melnefeld* 1297 WDB

L6 (Steeple Bumpstead, TL6841, p. 419 see p. 626) MILL FIELD Richard *atte Melefelde*  
1287 Ass

MN (Little Dunmow, TL6221, p. 478 see p. 637) MILL FIELD *Melefeld* 13th StJohn

HRT

Q6 (Rickmansworth, TQ0494, p. 83) MILL END *le Melne Eyte* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO

RV (Sandon, TL3234, p. 166) MILL END *le Melnende* 1277 [StPauls]

MDX

XL (Edmonton, TQ3392, p. 71) MILLBROOK *Melcroft, Melflet* 13th AD i

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>

ESS

GK (Buttsbury, TQ6698, p. 245) MILLHILL WOOD *mill of Wluesdon* 1259 Ass

NJ (Helion Bumpstead, TL6541, p. 509 see p. 642) MILL FIELD *Milnefeld* 1284 Queens

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

BED

2U (Moggerhanger, TL1449, p. 93) SOUTH MILLS *Suth Mulne* 1270 FF

HRT

RJ (Ashwell, TL2839, p. 153) MILL ST *le Mulnestrat* 1299 WDB

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

CAM

56 (Cambridge, TL4658, p. 48) [PDE NAME MISSING] *Milnestrate* 1258 Barnwell, *Melneestrete* 1285 FF [also: *in vico Molendinorum* 1279 RH]

Not mapped:

CAM: *Melbourn* EPNS XIX: 58 and *Meldreth* EPNS XIX: 60 due to uncertain etymology.

ESS

HE (Little Coggeshall, TL8520, p. 284) POINTWELL MILL *Myll*, *Melle* 1261 FF [non-initial: *Poyntel(le)melne* 1261 FF]

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<u>

BED

2K (Millbrook, TL0138, p. 82) MILLBROOK *Melebroc* 1285 Ipm, *Mulebrok* 1276 Ass, 1284 FA, 1287 Ass, *Melebrok(e)* 1253 Abbr, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1293 Ch, *Mulbrok(e)* 1291 NI, *Melabroc* 1291 Tax [<o> is also attested: *Molebroke* R i (1286) Ch, 1290 Cl – most likely due to the influence of the Latin form of the word: *molinum* and its forms]

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>

BED

35 (Dunton, TL2344, p. 103) MILLOW *Melnho* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Mul(e)nho* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Melho* 1253 Ch, *Miln(e)ho* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Milho* 1276 Ass

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position in a name

test item -BRIDGE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <i>

ESS

GX (Mountnessing, TQ6297, p. 261) COWBRIDGE GRANGE *Cubrigeam* 1086 DB

HUN

TY (Orton Longueville and Orton Waterville, TL1696, p. 194) BOTOLPH BRIDGE *Botuluesbrige* 1086 DB

test item -BRIDGE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <u>

ESS

FF (Great and Little Stambidge, TQ9091, p. 202) STAMBRIDGE *Stanbruge* 1086 DB [A form of -BRIDGE with <i> is recorded before 1100: *Stanbrige* 1087 MS Lambeth 1212 f. 13, see JEPNS 2: 43]

HQ (Witham, TL8114, p. 301) HOWBRIDGE *Hobruge* 1086 DB

test item -BRIDGE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <i>~<u>

CAM

56 (Cambridge, TL4658, p. 36) CAMBRIDGE [(to) *Gránte-*] -brig(g)e 1086 InqEl, *Grantebrice* 1086 IngEl, *Grentebrige* 1086 DB, *Grenteburga* 1086 ICC, *Cantebrigie*, -a 1086 InqEl

ESS

FU (North and South Fambridge, TQ8597, p. 214) FAMBRIDGE *Fanbruge* 1086 DB, *Fenbricge* 1086 InqEl, *Phenbruge* 1086 DB, *Fambrugge* 1086 InqEl

test item -RIDGE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <i>~<u>

HRT

Q9 (St Michaels, TL1105, p. 92) WINDRIDGE FM *Wenrige* 1086 DB

QC (Sandridge, TL1710, p. 100) SANDRIDGE *Sandrige* 1086 DB [*et passim*]

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

BED

24 (Eaton Socon, TL1659, p. 59) SUDBURY *Subberie* 1086 DB

ESS

B9 (Great and Little Hallingbury, TL5119, p. 34) HALLINGBURY *Hallingeberiam*, *Halingheberia*, *Halingeb(er)iam* 1086 DB [A form of -BURY with <u> is recorded before 1100: *Halyngbury* 1093 Dugd v, see JEPNS 2: 40]

EN (East and West Tilbury, TQ6778, p. 173) TILBURY *Tiliberia(m)* 1086 DB [forms with <y> appear before 1100: *Tillabyri* 1066-87 WDB, 1071-85 Crispin]

FB (North and South Shoebury, TQ9286, p. 198) SHOEBURY *Essoberiam*, *Soberiam* 1086 DB

GN (Danbury, TL7705, p. 248) DANBURY *Danengeberiam* 1086 DB

HV (Tollesbury, TL9510, p. 304) TOLLESBURY *Tolesberia*, -iam 1086 DB

M6 (Tilbury-juxta-Clare, TQ6476, p. 463) TILBURY-JUXTA-CLARE *Tiliberiam* 1086 DB

HRT

P5 (Aldbury, SP9612, p. 26) ALDBURY *Aldeberie* 1086 DB

RZ (Albury, TL4324, p. 169) ALBURY *Eldeberie* 1086 DB

TC (Hertingfordbury, TL3012, p. 227) HERTINGFORDBURY *Herefordingberie* 1086 DB

HUN

UU (Alconbury, TL1875, p. 231) ALCONBURY *Acumesberie* 1086 DB

VQ (Eynesbury, TL1859, p. 255) EYNESBURY *Einuluesberie* 1086 DB

MDX

WM (Sunbury, TQ1069, p. 22) SUNBURY *Suneberie* 1086 DB [with a macron above *n*]

XG (Kingsbury, TQ1988, p. 61) KINGSBURY *Chingesberie* 1086 DB

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

ESS

O6 (Littlebury, TL5139, p. 530) LITTLEBURY *Litelbyriā* 1086 DB, *Lit(t)leberi* 1086 InqEl [Another form with <y> before 1100: *Lithlebyri* 1065-98 BuryDoc, see JEPNS 2: 47]

MV (Mashbury, TL6511, p. 488) MASHBURY *Masceberiam*, *Massebirig* 1086 DB [a form with <y> *Mæisbyrig* is ascribed to 1068; however it is found in a document dated to 1309]

test item -MILL

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

HRT

SX (Westmill, TL1730, p. 209) WESTMILL *Westmele* 1086 DB, *Wesmele* 1086 DB

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <i>

CAM

56 (Cambridge, TL4658, p. 36) CAMBRIDGE *Grantanbrycge* c. 1100 [ASC (D)], c. 1150 [ASC (C)], *Grantabrigce* c. 1100 [ASC (D)], *Cantabrigia*, -e 1107 YCh

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <u>

MDX

XB (Uxbridge, TQ0583, p. 48) UXBRIDGE *Oxebruge* 1145 Cur, *Wixebrug'* 1145 FF  
YJ (Westminster, TQ2979, p. 169) KNIGHTSBRIDGE *Cnithtebruga* 1121-40 Dugd iv

test item -BURY

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <e>

ESS

M6 (Tilbury-juxta-Clare, TQ6476, p. 463) TILBURY-JUXTA-CLARE (*Til(l)-*, *Tyl(l)eberia* 1142 Mandeville

test item -BURY

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <i>

HUN

VQ (Eynesbury, TL1859, p. 255) EYNESBURY *Einulfesbiri* 1125 WMP

test item -MILL

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <e>

HRT

SX (Westmill, TL1730, p. 209) WESTMILL [*West-*] -*mella* 1130 P

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

ESS

GU (Great Leighs, TL7217, p. 257) DERESBRIDGE *Deresbregge* 1200 FF  
HT (Heybridge, TL8508, p. 304) HEYBRIDGE *Heaghbregge* c. 1200 Gervase



test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i>

ESS

FZ (St Peter Maldon, TL8407, p. 219) FULLBRIDGE *Fulebrige* 1185 Templars

HM (White Notley, TL7818, p. 294) FAMBRIDGE FM *Fambrigge* 1186 StJohn (p)

HUN

TY (Orton Longueville and Orton Waterville, TL1696, p. 194) BOTOLPH BRIDGE  
*Botelesbrig'* 1200 FF

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <u>

ESS

FF (Great and Little Stambridge, TQ9091, p. 202) STAMBRIDGE *Stanbruge* 1196 [FF]

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

CAM

56 (Cambridge, TL4658, p. 43) STOURBRIDGE COMMON *Stiebrig'* 1199 CurR,  
*Steresbreg(g)* 1199 P [et freq to c. 1480 CTerr]

ESS

HQ (Witham, TL8114, p. 301) HOWBRIDGE *Hobrige* 1185 Templars, *-bregge* 1197 P  
(p), *Houbrig(ge)* 1198 Cur

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<u>

BED

41 (Stanbridge, SP9624, p. 132) STANBRIDGE *Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1165, 1175 P,  
*Stanbregge* 1196 FF (p) [earlier, as half-hundred p. 113: *Stanburge* 1086 DB]

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

CAM

56 (Cambridge, TL4658, p. 36) CAMBRIDGE *Grontebrugae* 12th Ord, (to)  
*Grantebrycge* (12th) LibEl, (to) *Grántebricge* 1170 LibEl, *-brygge* [1170 LibEl],  
[with variant forms *-brecge*, *-breg(ge)*, *-brug(g)ge*, *-brucge* to 1285 Ass],  
*Græntebrigge* 1186 P, [Granta-] *-brycge* c. 1200 [ASC (E)], *Grentebrigge* 1187 P,  
*Cantebrigge* 1185 P [with variants *-briche*, *-brigia*, *-brig(g)(e)*, *-brug(g)e*, *-brugia*,  
*-e*, *-breg(g)e*, *-bregia* to *Cantebrigge* 1540 Ct], *Kantebrig* 1196 FF, *Canteburge* 1191  
France, [<e> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough]

HRT

QC (Sandridge, TL1710, p. 101) THEBRIDGE *Thebruge* t. Hy 2 Dugd, *-brigge* 1191  
HMC ix

MDX

XB (Uxbridge, TQ0583, p. 48) UXBRIDGE *Oxebruge* 1198 Cur, *Wxsebrig'* 1198 Cur,  
*Uxebrigg(e)* 1200 P, [see JEPNS 2: 54] *Wxebruge* c.1180 Basset

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i/y>~<u>

ESS

FU (North and South Fambridge, TQ8597, p. 214) FAMBRIDGE *Fanbruge* 11th (c. 1200) KCD 907, 1042-66 (12th) LibEl, *-brege* 1017-35 (12th) LibEl, *Wanbrige* 1185 RotDom

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

BED

4L (Luton, TL0921, p. 158) COWRIDGE END *Curegge* 1196 Whet i. 421

HRT

RG (Totteridge, TQ2494, p. 149) TOTTERIDGE *Taderege* 12th LibEl

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i>

ESS

B5 (Nazeing, TL4106, p. 26) LANGRIDGE *Langerige* t. Hy 2 Waltham

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <u>

HRT

PD (Little Gaddesden, SP9913, p. 36) ASHRIDGE *Assherugge* 1200 Miss [*et freq* to 1540 LP]

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i>

HRT

Q9 (St Michaels, TL1105, p. 92) WINDRIDGE FM *Winrigge* 1195 P (p), *Winregge* 1195 CR (p) [*Wenringe* 1198 FF “we must take the form with a second *n* as irregular” EPNS XV: 92]

test item -BURY

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

BED

4M (Pulloxhill, TL0634, p. 161) UPBURY *Hubberia* 1166 P, *Hutberia* 1168 P, *Hutteberia* 1174 P

ESS

M6 (Tilbury-juxta-Clare, TQ6476, p. 463) TILBURY-JUXTA-CLARE [*Til(l)-*, *Tyl(l)e-*] *-bere* 1198 FF, [see JEPNS 2: 47] *Tilleberi*, *Tylleberu* 1156-8 BuryDoc

MDX

WM (Sunbury, TQ1069, p. 22) SUNBURY *Suneberi(a)*, *Sunneberi* 1198 Cur

test item -BURY

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i/y>

CAM

6A (Stapleford, TL4751, p. 88-9) VANDELBURY *Wyndilbyry* t. Stephen LibEl

MDX

XG (Kingsbury, TQ1988, p. 61) KINGSBURY *Kingesbir'* 1199 Cur [*et passim* to 1316 FA, with variant spellings *Kynges-* and *-bury*, *-beri*], *Kiggesbire* (sic) 1199 Cur

test item -BURY

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <u>

BED

24 (Eaton Socon, TL1659, p. 59) SUDBURY (lost) *Sutburn* 1185 P

test item -BURY

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

ESS

B9 (Great and Little Hallingbury, TL5119, p. 34) HALLINGBURY *Hal(l)ing(h)eb(er)i* (a), *-bir(ia)*, *-bery* 1190 P, *Hellingeberia* 1154-61 Colch

O6 (Littlebury, TL5139, p. 530) LITTLEBURY (*æt*) (*into*) *Lyt(t)lanbyrig* 1004 (12th) LibEl, *Littelbirig* 11th (c. 1200) KCD 907, *-berig* 1042-66 (12th) LibEl, [see JEPNS 2: 47] *Lit(h)leberi* 1029-35 (12[th]) LibEl

HUN

UU (Alconbury, TL1875, p. 231) ALCONBURY *Alchmundesbiri*, *Alcmundesberia* 1168, 1169 P, 1197-8 P

test item -BURY

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<u>

ESS

EN (East and West Tilbury, TQ6778, p. 173) TILBURY [*Tille-*] *-bery* 1199 FF, *-bere* 1200 FF, *Tilebur'* 1195 CurR

test item -BURY

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i>~<u>

HRT

Q8 (St Albans, TL1507, p. 90) KINGSBURY *Kengesbiri* 12th Gesta, *Kyngesbury* 1141-66 [Gesta]

HUN

VQ (Eynesbury, TL1859, p. 255) EYNESBURY *Ainesbiri* 1163 P, *Enolfesburia* 12th Ord

test item -BURY

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>

ESS

FB (North and South Shoebury, TQ9286, p. 198) SHOE BURY [*So-*] *-beria* 12th France, *-biri(e)* 1195 P, *Sioberi* 1189-90 Dugd v, *Scobir(ia)* 1198 [FF], (see EPNS XXIII, AetC: xlviii] *Soberia* 1176 Clarkenwell, *Soburie* 1190 ib.

HRT

SM (Braughing, TL3924, p. 190) GATESBURY *Getesberi* 12th AD iii, *Gatesberi* [12th AD iii], *-birie* 1198 FF [*et freq* to 1295 lpm, with variant spellings *-bery*, *-bury*], *Katesbur'* t. Ric 1 P

test item -MILL

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>

HRT

SX (Westmill, TL1730, p. 209) WESTMILL [*West-*] *-melna* 1163 [P], *Westmuln* 1161 P, *-mull* 1164 [P], *Westmilne* 1172 P

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

ESS

CV (Hornchurch, TQ5386, p. 114) WYEBRIDGE FM *Wybregg(ecroft)* 1237 HPD

MDX

XQ (The Borough of Acton, TQ2080, p. 82) BOLLO BRIDGE *Bolebregge* 1229-39 StPaulsCh

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>

CAM

7Q (Fulbourn, TL5156, p. 143 see p. 365) WOODBRIDGE FIELD *Wdebrige* 1225 AD

ELY

AY (Wisbech St Peter, TF4609, p. 297) RING'S END *Ringgebrigge* 1237 Thorney, 1248 ElyCh

ESS

JG (Great Oakley, TM1927, p. 346) HOUBRIDGE HALL *Hobrigg'* 1248 Ass (p)

MP (Good Easter, TL6212, p. 481) FARMBRIDGE END *Fenbrigg* 1216-25 WAM

HUN

UN (Wood Walton, TL2180, p. 225) WOOD WALTON *Waldebrigg* 1218 FF

MDX

YJ (Westminster, TQ2979, p. 169) KNIGHTSBRIDGE *Knichtebrig'* 1235 Ass

YJ (Westminster, TQ2979, p. 180) ST MARY le STRAND *Ulebrigg* 1222 Westlake

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <u>

ESS

HQ (Witham, TL8114, p. 301) HOWBRIDGE *Hobruge* 1204 FF, 1212 RBE

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<u>

ESS

HT (Heybridge, TL8508, p. 304) HEYBRIDGE *He(e)bregg(e)* 1222 StP (p), [see JEPNS 2: 45] *Tydwaldinton Heybrug* 1236 ECStP

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

BED

41 (Stanbridge, SP9624, p. 113 and p. 132) STANBRIDGE *Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1220 LS, 1242 Fees 867, *Stanbrig(g)e*, *Stanbrygge* 1202, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, Cl, *Staubrig(g)* 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, *Stanburgh* 1227 Ass, *Stantbrig* 1240 Ass

ESS

BS (Lambourne, TQ4896, p. 60) ABRIDGE *Affebrigg(e)* 1203 Cur, *-brug'* 1239 FF  
FF (Great and Little Stambridge, TQ9091, p. 202) STAMBRIDGE *Stanbruge* 1206 FF, *-brig(ge)* (*Parva*) 1230 P, (*Magna*) 1248 Ass  
FU (North and South Fambridge, TQ8597, p. 214) FAMBRIDGE [*Fan-*] *-brig(g)'* 1234, [*Fen-*] *-brugg'* 1228 FF, [*Fam-*] *-brig(ge)* 1223, 1239 FF, *Faumbrieg* 1238 Pat

HRT

QC (Sandridge, TL1710, p. 101) THEBRIDGE [*The-*] *-brugge* 1248 FF, [see EPNS XIX, AetC: lvi] *Tiebrigg* 1204 P

HUN

TY (Orton Longueville and Orton Waterville, TL1696, p. 194) BOTOLPH BRIDGE *Botuluesbrige* 1224 FF, 1242 Fees 425, *Botelbrig(ge)* 1220 FF, *Botulvesbrug* 1220 Fees 334, *Botolfbrigg* 1225 FF, *Botolvesbrug* 1227 Ass

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i/y>~<u>

CAM

56 (Cambridge, TL4658, p. 36) CAMBRIDGE *Canteburge* 1201 CCh, *-berg'* 1201 P, *Kanteberge* 1212 ANG, *Crantebr'* 1219 FF, *Cauntebrig'* 1230 P, [with variant forms *-brig(ge)*, *-brigia*, *-breg(g)e* to *-Cauntebrugge* 1351 Pat], *Kauntebrigg* 1232 FF

MDX

XB (Uxbridge, TQ0583, p. 48) UXBRIDGE [*Oxe-*] *-bric* 1208 [Cur], *-brigg* 1235 Ass, *Wyxebrigg* 1220 FF, *Uxebrigg(e)* 1235 [Ass], *-brugg(e)* 1219 P, *-bregge* 1230 StPaulsCh, *Woxebruge* 1219 FF [et passim to 1433 FF, with variant spellings *-brigg(e)*, *-bregg(e)*], *Wuxebr'* 1235 Ass, *-brug(g)* 1242 Cl, [see EPNS XIX: lvii] *Wuxe(s) brig'* 1220 Cur

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>

HRT

RG (Totteridge, TQ2494, p. 149) TOTTERIDGE *Taterige* 1230 FF [et passim to 1428 FA]  
SR (Standon, TL3822, p. 198 see EPNS XXIII, AetC: l) PUCKERIDGE Willemus *Pukerich* 1220 Cur  
SV (Thundridge, TL3517, p. 205) THUNDRIDGE *Tozriche* (sic) 1190-1204 France

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <u>

BED

4L (Luton, TL0921, p. 158) COWRIDGE END *Kuruge* 1202 FF, *Curruge* 1247 Ass (p)

HRT

Q9 (St Michaels, TL1105, p. 92) WINDRIDGE FM *Wenrug(ge)* 1228 Pat, 1232 Bracton, *Wanrugge* [Bracton]; [*Winringe* t. John Dugd ii, “we must take the form with a second *n* as irregular” EPNS XV: 92]

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>~<u>

BED

4O (Stopsley, TL1023, p. 164) RAMRIDGE END *Ramrugg* 1227 Ass, *Ramrigge* 1240 Ass (p)

HRT

OZ (Offley, TL1426, p. 20) PUTTERIDGE BURY *Puderig* 1207 Cur, *Puderugge* 1240 FF, *Pudderug'* 1208 [FF] (p), *Pudderigge* 1248 Ass

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

ESS

B3 (Epping, TL4502, p. 23) EPPING BURY *Prestberi* 1212 Fees

HRT

SB (Little Hormead, TL4029, p. 180) STONEBURY *Stoneberi* 1220 Fees

MDX

WM (Sunbury, TQ1069, p. 22) SUNBURY *Suneberi(a)* t. John Weinbaum,  
YH (The Borough of Willesden, TQ2284, p. 162) MAPESBURY *Mapesberi* 1250 StPauls

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>

BED

2D (Elstow, TL0546, p. 71) MEDBURY *Meidebir'* 1227 Ass  
4M (Pulloxhill, TL0634, p. 161) UPBURY *Upbiri* 1205 FF

CAM

6A (Stapleford, TL4751, p. 88-9) VANDELBURY *Wandlebiria* c. 1211 GervT, *Wendelbiri* c. 1225 ElyM

ESS

C8 (Stanford Rivers, TL5303, p. 77-8) LITTLEBURY *Littlebir* 1234 Ass  
HV (Tollesbury, TL9510, p. 304) TOLLESBURY [*Toles-*] *-bir(ia)* 1212 RBE, 1232 FF, *Tollesbir(e)* 1230 Bodl, *Tollebyr'*, *-bir* 1234, 1235 FF  
O6 (Littlebury, TL5139, p. 530) LITTLEBURY [*Lit(t)le-*] *-bir(e)* 1202 FF

HRT

RA (Weston, TL2630, p. 147) NEWBERRY GROVE *Niwebire* 1208 FF  
SM (Braughing, TL3924, p. 190) GATESBURY *Gattesbyr'* 1248 Ass [<e> and <u> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough after the date 1198: “*et freq* to 1295 Ipm, with variant spellings *-bery*, *-bury*”]

HUN

VI (Alconbury Weston, TL1776, p. 249) ALCONBURY WESTON *Alkmundebir* Weston 1227 Ass  
VQ (Eynesbury, TL1859, p. 255) EYNESBURY *Eynebir* 1227 Ass, *Eynesbyr*, *-bir* 1234 FF, 1235 Cl, *Eynisbyr*, *-biry* 1248 FF

VU (Hemingford Abbots and Grey, TL2770, p. 260) LITTLEBURY *Littlebire, Litlebyri* 1209 For

#### MDX

XG (Kingsbury, TQ1988, p. 61) KINGSBURY [*Chinges-*] *-biri* 1219 Pap [<e> and <u> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough after the date 1199: “*et passim* to 1316 FA, with variant spellings *Kynges-* and *-bury, -beri*”]

XW (The Borough of Finsbury, TQ3182, p. 93) FINSBURY *Vinisbir'* 1231 FF, *Vinesbir'* 1235 Ass *Finesbir'* 1235 Ass [*et passim* to 1475 FF with variant spellings *Fynes-*, and *-bury, bery*]

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <u>

#### BED

1T (Sharnbrook, SP9959, p. 42) TRIKETSBURY *Trikatesburi* 1202 Ass

4K (Limbury, TL0624, p. 155) LIMBURY *Limbury* 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, *Lumbur(y)* 1250 Deed

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

#### BED

24 (Eaton Socon, TL1659, p. 56) CADBURY (lost) *Kadberia, Cadebyri* 1208 BM

#### ESS

B9 (Great Hallingbury, TL5119, p. 35) WALLBURY *Halling- bir(iam) de Walla* 1212 RBE, 1227 Fees, *Hal(l)in(g)ber(i) de (la) Walle* 1219, 1235 Fees, 1235 Ass, *la Walle (in Hallinggebiri)* 1240 [Ch], *Hallyngeb'y la Walle* 1248 Ass

CN (West Ham, TQ4083, p. 95) SUDBURY *Suthbir(i)* 1201 Orig, *Suthbir(i)* 1207 Fine, *Sub(b)ir* 1230 P, 1234 Ch, [see EPNS XVII, AetC: xxxviii] *La Sudberi* 1201 CartAnt

FB (North and South Shoebury, TQ9286, p. 198) SHOEBURY [*So-*] *-beri, -bir(y)* 1228 [FF], *-byre* c. 1230 Bodl, *-bery* 1238 SR, *Nortsobyr'* 1248 Ass, *Nord Scobire* 1202 [FF], *Shobir(e), -bery, -byry* 1229 [FF], *Chobir' (Schobir ChancR)* 1230 P (p), *Schober(i), -y* 1247 FF

GN (Danbury, TL7705, p. 248) DANBURY *Dan(n)ing(e)bir(y)* 1233 FF, *Dan(n)yng(h) ebyr(y), -biry* 1247 FF, *Daingebr'* 1235 Ass, *Danegeber* 1238 SR

M6 (Tilbury-juxta-Clare, TQ6476, p. 463) TILBURY-JUXTA-CLARE [*Til(l)-, Tyl(l)e-*] *-bere* 1238 SR, *-bir(ia) (juxta Clare)* 1212 RBE, 1215 Fees, *Tillesbir' (secus Clare)* 1218 Fees

MV (Mashbury, TL6511, p. 488) MASHBURY [*Masse-*] *-bir'* 1227 FF, *Messebir(e)* 1203-6 FF, 1203 Cur, 1212 Fees, *-ber(i)* 1203 FF, *-berge, -biria* 1212 RBE, *-byry* 1218 FF

#### HRT

TC (Hertingfordbury, TL3012, p. 227) HERTINGFORDBURY *Hertfordingber'* 1212 Fees [“*et freq* to 1511 FF, with variant spellings *-yng-* and *-biry, -bur*”; <u> may have been attested in this sub-period, however the record is not detailed enough], *Hertfordingeberi* 1220 Fees, 1247 AD iii, *-byre* 1248 Ass, *Hertfordingesberi* 1248 AD iii

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>~<u>



## BED

24 (Eaton Socon, TL1659, p. 59) SUDBURY (lost) *Sutbir'* 1236 FF, *Suthbur'* 1242 Fees 867

## HRT

P5 (Aldbury, SP9612, p. 26) ALDBURY [*Alde-*] *-birie* 1203 FF, *Audebury* 1232 Pat, *-bir'* 1233 Ch, *Audebury* 1232 Pat

RZ (Albury, TL4324, p. 169) ALBURY *Audebiria* 1210-12 RBE, *Aldeburia* 1241 LiberA [*<e>* may have also been attested, however, the record is not detailed enough: "*et freq* to 1332 FF, with variant spellings *-biry*, *-bery*, *-bury*, (*juxta* Pelham) 1387 FF"]

## HUN

UU (Alconbury, TL1875, p. 231) ALCONBURY *Alkmundebir*, *Alcmundebir*, *Alkmundebury* 1230, 1233, 1237 Cl [*et passim* to 1428 FA], *Alkemund(e)bury* 1238 Cl

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: *<e>~<i>~<u>*

## ESS

B9 (Great and Little Hallingbury, TL5119, p. 34) HALLINGBURY *Hal(l)ing(h)eb(er)i* (*a*), *-bir(ia)*, *-bery* 1096-1202 Colch, 1209 LibR, 1227, 1235 Fees, 1228 FF, 1240 Ct, *-berg* 1229 Cl, *Haligebir de Nevill* 1239 For, 1240 Ct, *Halliggebur'* 1240 Cl [the following entry also appears among the above tuples: (*John de Burgo*) 1239-41 For, it has not been included in the analysis of the names with BURY- in name-initial position]

EN (East and West Tilbury, TQ6778, p. 173) TILBURY *Tileburh* c. 1250 MP, *Tillebir(e)* 1199-1202 FF, (*Est-*) 1201 [FF], (*West-*) 1202, 1247 [FF], *-biry* 1248 [Ass], *Tylleber* (*y*) 1218 FF (*Com'*) 1238 SR

test item -MILL

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: *<e>*

## MDX

Y8 (The Borough of Poplar, TQ3780, p. 136) OLD FORD *Eldefordmelne* 1230 Bracton

test item -MILL

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: *<i>*

## BED

2U (Moggerhanger, TL1449, p. 93) SOUTH MILLS *Sudmille* 1220 LS (p)

test item -MILL

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: *<e>~<i/y>~<u>*

## HRT

SX (Westmill, TL1730, p. 209) WESTMILL [*West-*] *-melna* 1212 Fees, *-melle* c. 1240 BM, [*West-*] *-muln* 1235 Ch, *Westmilne* 1210-12 RBE

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: *<e>*

## BED

4Y (Shefford, TL1439, p. 173) SHEFFORD *Skegfordbregge* 1287 Ass

## ESS

CB (Stapleford Tawney, TQ5099, p. 80) PASSINGFORD BRIDGE [*Pyssingford*]-*ebregge* 1299 WalthamC

DI (South Weald, TQ5793, p. 138) DELL BRIDGE *Del(le)bregg(e)* 1276 For, 1299 WalthamC

FZ (St Peter Maldon, TL8407, p. 219) FULLBRIDGE *Folebregg(e)* 1275 AD v

H6 (Great Waltham, TL6913, p. 271 see p. 613) RISBRIDGE *Rysebreg'* 1279 Ct

IJ (Virley, TL9413, p. 323) PAYNE'S FM *Paynesbregg(e)* 1285 Ass

JS (West Bergholt, TL9627, p. 361) NEW BRIDGE *Newbregg'* 13th WalthamA

O2 (Elmdon, TL4639, p. 527) BOUND'S BRIDGE *Bundesbrege* 13th AD ii

Not mapped:

E8 *Childebreg'* 1272 Ass; it is mentioned in EPNS XII: 37, in the discussion of EALING BRIDGE, and is said there to be located in Laindon; however, it is not mentioned in Lainden, EPNS XII: 161-2.

## HRT

TB (Hertford, TL3212, p. 225) COWBRIDGE *Cubreggestrete* 1296 Ass

## MDX

XW (The Borough of Finsbury, TQ3182, p. 99) [PDE NAME MISSING] *Cubreggestrete* 1300 RecStBarts

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>

## CAM

6I (Whittlesford, TL4748, p. 98) WHITTLESFORD BRIDGE *Wytlisfordebrige* 1279 RH [also earlier: *pontem de Wytlesford'* 1242 CI]

6V (Pampisford, TL4948, p. 112) LANGFORD ARCH *Longeforthebrige* 1290 Barnwell

7J (Swaffham Prior, TL5764, p. 137) REACH BRIDGE Geoffrey *Attebrigg* 1285 Ass

8O (Over, TL3770, p. 169) OVER (*Ovre*) *iuxta Cantebrig* 1285 Ass

## ELY

A7 (Stretham, TL5174, p. 238) ELFORD CLOSES *Eldeford(brigge)* 1251 ElyCouch

## ESS

BC (Hatfield Broad Oak, TL5416, p. 43) LANG BRIDGE *Lang(e)brig(ge)* 1260 FF (p) [also *iuxta cheminum longi pontis* 13th AddCh, *Lungpunt* 13th [HMC vii] (p)]

FK (Little Wakering, TQ9388, p. 205) STONEBRIDGE *Staunbrigge* 1279 FF

G3 (Cold Norton, TL8400, p. 221) NORTON *Norton iuxta ffanbrigge* 1285 Ass

GX (Mountnessing, TQ6297, p. 261) COWBRIDGE GRANGE [*Cu-*] *-brigg* 1254 Pat

H2 (Sandon, TL7404, p. 267) SPARE BRIDGE *Sperke-, Sparkebrige* t. Hy 3 HMC v, 13th StJohn

HA (Writtle, TL6706, p. 279) TWO BRIDGE *Tunbrygge* 1274 RH (p), *Tonebrigge* 1276 For (p)

HM (White Notley, TL7818, p. 294) FAMBRIDGE FM *Fanbrig* 13th StJohn

HQ (Witham, TL8114, p. 301) HOWBRIDGE [*Ho-*] *-brig(ge)* 1219-61 FF, *How(e)brig(ge)* 1272 Ass

JW (Chapel, TL8928, p. 364) CHAPEL *Britesbrig* 1272 Ass [also *in capellam de Ponte Brichrich (Brychrych) de magna Teye* 1285 Ass]

MP (Good Easter, TL6212, p. 481) FARMBRIDGE END *ffambrigg* 1285 Ass (p), *ffanbrigg* 1285 Ass (p)

HRT

QC (Sandridge, TL1710, p. 101) THEBRIDGE *Tebrigge* 1262 Ass

HUN

TY (Orton Longueville and Orton Waterville, TL1696, p. 194) BOTOLPH BRIDGE  
*Botelbrig(ge)* 1290 Cl, *Botolfbrigg* 1260 Ass, *Botilbrig(ge)*, *Botylbryge* 1286 Ass,  
1292 Ipm, *Botulfbrig* 1286 FF [subsequently also <u>]

VJ (Old Weston, TL0977, p. 250) COCKBROOK LODGE *aqua de Cukusbrygg*,  
*Cukusbrygg*, *Cukisbrygg* 1286 Ass

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

ELY

AO (Elm, TF4706, p. 268) FRIDAY BRIDGE *Fridayesbrugg'* 1298 Ass

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

ESS

FU (North and South Fambridge, TQ8597, p. 214) FAMBRIDGE [*Fan-*] *-brig(g)* 1258  
FF, [*Fen-*] *-brigg* 1264 Abbr, *Faumbrig* 1286 Ch, *f(f)ambreg(ge)* (*Parua*) 1285 Ass,  
*Northambregg* 1274 RH, *S(o)uthfambreg(ge)* 1291 Tax

IC (Layer de la Haye, TL9720, p. 319) KINGSFORD BRIDGE *Kyng(g)esford(e)brege*,  
*-brygg*, *-brigg'* 1285 Ass, 13th Paper

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<u>

ESS

FF (Great and Little Stambridge, TQ9091, p. 202) STAMBRIDGE *Great Staumbregg'*  
1261, *Staumbrugge* 1279 FF

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

BED

41 (Stanbridge, SP9624, p. 132) STANBRIDGE *Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1276, 1287 Ass,  
*Stanbrig(g)e*, *Stanbrygge* 1284 FA, *Stanbrich* 1276 Ass, *Stambrug* 1292 Ipm

CAM

56 (Cambridge, TL4658, p. 43) STOURBRIDGE COMMON *Sturesbrig* 13th St John's,  
*Sterebrug(g)* 1257 Cl [<e> may have been also attested, however the record is not  
detailed enough]

HUN

VZ (Great and Little Paxton, TL2063, p. 264) HAIL BRIDGE *Hailebruge* 1265 Coroner,  
*Halyisbrigg* 1276 RH

MDX

XB (Uxbridge, TQ0583, p. 48) UXBRIDGE *Wyxebrigge* 1274, 1294 Ass, *-bruge* 1294  
GDR, *Wixebrigge* 1274 Ass, 1277 Pat, *-brugg'* 1294 Ass, *Wxe-* [*-brig'*] 1274 Ass,  
*Uxebrigg(e)* 1274 Ass, [*Wuxe-*] *-brug(g)* 1294 Ass, *Wexebrigge(e)* 1274 Ass,  
*-brugge* 1294 Ch, [<e> may have been also attested, however the record is not  
detailed enough]

YJ (Westminster, TQ2979, p. 169) KNIGHTSBRIDGE *Cnichtebbrugge* t. Hy 3 BM [et  
passim to 1383 IpmR, with variant spellings *Knighthe-*, *Knyghthe-*, *Kniste-*, and  
*-bregge*, *-brigge*, *-brygge*], *Cnihtebricge* 1042-66 (13th) WDB, [<e> have been also

attested, however the record is not detailed enough]

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>~<u>

CAM

56 (Cambridge, TL4658, p. 36) CAMBRIDGE [*Grānte*-] [with variant forms] *-brecge*, *-breg(ge)*, *-brug(g)ge*, *-brucge* to 1285 Ass], *Grauntebryge* 1272 Ass

ESS

HT (Heybridge, TL8508, p. 304) HEYBRIDGE *Hebrugg* c. 1300 StP, *He(e)bregg(e)* 1254 Ass, *-brigg(e)* 1254-85 Ass, 1281 Pat *-brugg'* 1285 Ass, 1297 VStP, *Hebrech'* 1254 Ass, *Heberge* 1272 Ass, *Heybrigge*, *-brugg* c. 1300 StP

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

BED

40 (Stopsley, TL1023, p. 164) RAMRIDGE END *Ramerugge* 1290 AD iv (p), SR (p)

HRT

OZ (Offley, TL1426, p. 20) PUTTERIDGE BURY *Puterugge* 1287 [Ass]

Q9 (St Michaels, TL1105, p. 92) WINDRIDGE FM *Wyndrug(ge)* c. 1275 Gesta, [*Wyndryng* 1279 FF, *Wynryng* 1279 FF, *Wenreng* 1287 Ass, *Wynryng* 1294 SR “we must take the form with a second *n* as irregular” EPNS XV: 92]

SR (Standon, TL3822, p. 198) PUCKERIDGE *Pucherugge* 1294 SR (p)

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i>

HRT

QW (Digswell, TL2515, p. 125) SHERRARDS HO *Scheregge* 1270 FF (p), *Shirigge* 1285 Pat, *Sheregge* 1287 Ass

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<u>

ESS

B5 (Nazeing, TL4106, p. 26) LANGRIDGE *Langregg'* (p), *Langregesgrove* 1270 Ct, *-regg(e)*, *-rugg'* t. Hy 3 Waltham (p)

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

BED

4L (Luton, TL0921, p. 158) COWRIDGE END *Courigge* 1276 Ass, *Courugg(e)* 1297 SR (p), Ipm

HRT

PD (Little Gaddesden, SP9913, p. 36) ASHRIDGE [*Asshe*-] *-rigge*, *-rudge*, *Ashe-*, *Esserugge* 1283-93 Ch, 1286 Pat

QC (Sandridge, TL1710, p. 100) SANDRIDGE [*Sand*-]*-ru(g)ge*, *-rigge*, *Sanderig'* 1287 Ass

SV (Thundridge, TL3517, p. 205) THUNDRIDGE *Tunrich* 1254 Val, *Tunrigge* 1255 Ass, *Thonrugge* 1287 [Ass], *Thanrugge* 1277 Ch, *Thunrugge* 1293 Ipm [also *Tonrinch* 1086 DB, *Thunrungge* 1293 Ipm “the forms with a second *n* are curious,

but cf. Windridge supra 92" EPNS XV: 205]

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>

HRT

RG (Totteridge, TQ2494, p. 149) TOTTERIDGE [Tate-] -*rugge*, -*regge*, -*riche*, -*reche*  
1254 Val, *Tatterigg* 1251 Ch, [also -*ringg'* 1254 Val]

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

CAM

6A (Stapleford, TL4751, p. 88-9) VANDELBURY [Wendel-] -*beri(gate)*, (*portam de*)  
13th ElyCh, ElyF

ESS

B9 (Little Hallingbury, TL5119, p. 36) MONKS BURY *Hallyngebere monach'* 1285 Ass  
CO (Ilford, TQ4486, p. 98) CLAY BURY *le Clayberye* 1270 Ct  
HA (Writtle, TL6706, p. 278) GREENBERRY LODGE (*La Grenebery*, -*beri* 1283  
Takeley

HRT

QV (Datchworth, TL2719, p. 122 see p. 286) GOD BURY *Godebery* 1289 Abbr  
SM (Braughing, TL3924, p. 190 see p. 302) CALVERY ORCHARD *Caldeberi* 13th AD  
iii  
SX (Westmill, TL1730, p. 209 see p. 307) AULBURY FIELD *Aldebere* 13th AD ii

MDX

Y3 (The Borough of Holborn, TQ3081, p. 114) BLOOMSBURY *Blemondesberi* 1291  
AD i  
YJ (Westminster, TQ2979, p. 167) EBURY *Eubery* 1300 Ipm

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>

BED

24 (Eaton Socon, TL1659, p. 59) SUDBURY (lost) *Sudbyr'* 1276 Ass

ESS

B9 (Great Hallingbury, TL5119, p. 35) WALLBURY [*Halling-*] -*byr Attewalle* 1261 FF,  
*la Walle (in Hallinggebiri)* 1267 Ch  
EN (East and West Tilbury, TQ6778, p. 173) TILBURY *Tillebir(e)* (*Magna, Parva*) 1255  
Ass, [*Tille-*] -*byr (contra Grevesend)* 1274 RH, [*Tylle-*] -*bir*, -*byr* 1227-53 FF,  
*Tylesbyr* (p), *Tyllyngbyr'* 1272 Ass, *Tellebir'* 1285 Ass  
EV (Eastwood, TQ8488, p. 182) SHOEBURY WOOD Peter de *Shobyr'* 1265 FF  
HV (Tollesbury, TL9510, p. 304) TOLLESBURY *Tollesbir(e)* (*Abbissee*) 1285 Ass,  
*Tollebyr'*, -*bir (Abbatisse)* 1285 Ass, *Thollesbr'* 1253 FF [forms with <e> and <u> are  
attested after 1300]  
O6 (Littlebury, TL5139, p. 530) LITTLEBURY [*Lit(t)le-*] -*bir(e)* 1254 [Ass], (*Ep'i*) 1255  
Ass ["*Episcopi* because the manor was held of the Bishop of Ely t. Hy 2."]  
O6 (Littlebury, TL5139, p. 531 see EPNS XIV, AetC: lviii) HOWE WOOD *Lytlebirho*  
1277 Ely  
OO (Manuden, TL4926, p. 551 see p. 649) ALBURY *Aldebir'* 1255 FF

HRT

Q8 (St Albans, TL1507, p. 89-90) KINGSBURY (*æt*) *Cyngesbyrig* 996-1006 (13th) Wills, [*Kynges-*] *-bir'* 13th BM

#### HUN

VQ (Eynesbury, TL1859, p. 255) EYNESBURY *Eynesbyr*, *-bir* 1286 Ass, *Eynisbyr*, *-biry* 1275 Cl

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

#### BED

12 (Bedford, TL0552, p. 11) ALDERMANBURY *Aldermanbury* 1299 Orig, IpmR [an earlier attestation has the form without the vowel under investigation, *Aldemanneby* 1226 CIR]

#### ESS

B3 (Epping, TL4502, p. 23) EPPING BURY *Pres(te)bur(y)* t. Hy 3 Waltham, 1291 For O7 (Newport, TL5233, p. 531) NEWPORT *Neuburg* 1270 Ch

#### HRT

PR (Aldenham, TQ1398, p. 63) NEWBERRIES PARK *Neweburi* 1283 WAM

Q6 (Rickmansworth, TQ0494, p. 83 see p. 277) ALDBURY BUSHES *Aldeburymade* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO

QD (Sarratt, TQ0499, p. 103) OLLEBERRIE FM *Aldebur'* 1294 SR, de *Eldebur'* 1296 [SR]

QE (Watford, TQ1097, p. 107) EASTBURY *Estbury* 1290 Gesta

RZ (Albury, TL4324, p. 169) ALBURY [*Aude-*] *-bury* 1291 Ch, *Aldeburia* 1241 LiberA [ <e> and <i/y> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough after the date 1241: "*et freq* to 1332 FF, with variant spellings *-biry*, *-bery*, *-bury*, (*juxta* Pelham) 1387 FF"]

SM (Braughing, TL3924, p. 190) GATESBURY *Catesbury* 1295 Cl [ <e> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough after the date 1198: "*et freq* to 1295 Ipm, with variant spellings *-bery*, *-bury*"]

SQ (Sawbridgeworth, TL4815, p. 194) PISHOBURY *Pyssoubury* 1294 Ch

#### MDX

XG (Kingsbury, TQ1988, p. 61) KINGSBURY *Kynkesbury* 1294 Ass [ <e> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough after the date 1199: "*et passim* to 1316 FA, with variant spellings *Kynges-* and *-bury*, *-beri*"]

YH (The Borough of Willesden, TQ2284, p. 161) BRONDESBURY *Bronnesrburie* 1254 Val, *Brondesbury* 1291 Tax

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

#### CAM

6T (Horseheath, TL6147, p. 108) LIMBERHURST FM Walter de *Limberh*, *Lymbyri(g)* 1268-72 Ass, John de *Lymbery* 1298 Cole xxii

#### ESS

B9 (Great and Little Hallingbury, TL5119, p. 34) HALLINGBURY [*Hal(l)ing(h)e-*] *-bir* (*ia*), *-bery* (*Great*) 1277 FF, *Alliggebyr'* 1274 Ct, *Hallyberi* Nevile 13th HMC vii

FB (North and South Shoebury, TQ9286, p. 198) SHOEBURY [*So-*] *-beria* (*Parva*) 1261 BM, *-biri(e)* t. Hy 3 RBE, *-beri*, *-bir(y)* 1288 FF, *-bery* 1294 Ipm, *Shobir(e)*, *-bery*, *-byry* 1262, (*Magna*) 1282 FF, (*Nort-*) 1254 Pat [*et freq* to 1428 FA], *Schobr'* 1254

FF, *Little Sobbiry* 1285 FF  
 MV (Mashbury, TL6511, p. 488) MASHBURY [*Masse-*] -bir' 1254 Ass, [*Messe-*] -ber (i) 1285 Ass, -byry (*Parua*) 1262 WAM, *Mas(sc)hebyri* 1287 FF  
 NZ (Chrishall, TL4439, p. 522) CRAWLEY BURY *Crouleber'*, -byr' 1285 Ass

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<u>

HRT

P5 (Aldbury, SP9612, p. 26) ALDBURY [*Alde-*] -beri 1262 Ipm, [*Aude-*] -buri 1262 Ipm

MDX

XE (Harrow, TQ1488, p. 54) SUDBURY *Suthbery* 1282 MxRec, *Sudbery*, *Sudbur'* 1294 Ass, *La Suzberi* [sic] 1299 AD iv

YH (The Borough of Willesden, TQ2284, p. 162) MAPESBURY *Mapesbury* 1254 Val, 1291 Tax, *Mappesber'* [1291 Tax]

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

BED

2D (Elstow, TL0546, p. 71) MEDBURY *Mayden(e)byr'*, *Maydenbur'* 1276 Ass, *Maydeburn'* [sic] 1287 Ass (p)

4K (Limbury, TL0624, p. 155) LIMBURY *Lymbiri* c. 1225 (13th) Dunst, 1276 Ass, *Limbury* 1286 Dunst [*et passim*], *Lumbur(y)* 1276 Ass, 1290 AD iv, *Lumbyr'* 1276 Ass (p), [also attested: *Lunboreye* [sic] 1252 Ch (p), *Limberge* 1296 Cl, possibly due to confusion with *beorg*]

4M (Pulloxhill, TL0634, p. 161) UPBURY *Hudburi*, *Hutbyr'* 13th Dunst, *Utbiri* 13th Dunst

ESS

C8 (Stanford Rivers, TL5303, p. 77-8) LITTLEBURY *Litlebir'*, *Litelbury(e)* 1287 Ass

CN (West Ham, TQ4083, p. 96) SUDBURY *Subyr'* 1274 RH, *Sud(de)bur(y)* 1251 Cl

M6 (Tilbury-juxta-Clare, TQ6476, p. 463) TILBURY-JUXTA-CLARE [*Til(l)-*, *Tyl(l)e-*] -bir(ia) (*juxta Clare*) 1255 Ass, *Tullebur'* 1285 Ass

HRT

TC (Hertingfordbury, TL3012, p. 227) HERTINGFORDBURY [*Hertfordinge-*] -byre 1266 FF, *Hertefordingbury* 1279 Pat, *Hertforthingbir'* 1280 Ass

QB (St Stephens, TL1306, p. 98) PARKBURY *Parcbiri* 1260 Gesta, *Parkesbur'* 1291 Tax

HUN

UU (Alconbury, TL1875, p. 231) ALCONBURY *Alkemund(e)bury* 1252 Ch, 1287 Orig, 1299 BM, *Aucmundebury* 1259 Pat, *Alcumbiri*, *Alkumbury*, *Alcumbury* 1285 FA, *Aumondebiry* 1286 Ass *Alkmond(e)bury*, *Alcmondebury* 1294 FF, E 1 BM

MDX

XW (The Borough of Finsbury, TQ3182, p. 93) FINSBURY [*Vines-*] -bur' 1275 RH, -byri 1288 StPaulsMSS, (*Soka de*) *Fynisbyr'* 1274 Ass, *Fynesbury Soken* 1294 [Ass], *Fyn(n)ebyr'* 1253 FF, 1274 Ass[<e> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough after the date 1235: "*et passim* to 1475 FF with variant spellings *Fynes-*, and -bury, -bery"]

test item -BURY



Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>~<u>

#### BED

24 (Eaton Socon, TL1659, p. 56) CADBURY (lost) *Kadberia*, *Cadebyri* Hy 2 (Hy 3) St Neot 81, *Cad(d)esbiry* 1278 QW, *Cadesbury* 1287 Ass

#### ESS

GN (Danbury, TL7705, p. 248) DANBURY *Dan(n)ing(e)bir(y)* 1255 Ass, 1280 Ch, 1282, 1283 Pat, *-bury* 1291 Pat, *Dan(n)ying(h)ebyr(y)*, *-biry* 1285 Pat, *-bury* 1286 Pat, *Dainghebury* 1290 Pat, *Dang(he)bir'* 1254 Ass, *Denegeberi* 1267 Misc, *Dagheneberg*, *Dagnebir'* 1285 Ass, *Dan(e)bury* 1294 FF, *Denebur'* 1291 For, *Daneweberi* 1300 Inq aqd

#### MDX

WM (Sunbury, TQ1069, p. 22) SUNBURY [*Sunne-*] *-bir'* 1274 Ass, *Sunnesbyr'* [1274 Ass], *Sonnebery* 1291 Tax, *Sundebur'* 1294 Ass

test item -MILL

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

#### CAM

64 (Harston, TL4251, p. 85) HARSTON MILL Adam *Attemelne* 1279 Ct  
6H (Sawston, TL4849, p. 97) MILL LANE John *Attemelne* 1279 RH  
99 (Burwell, TL5866, p. 188) NESS HO *Nesmelne* 1279 RH

#### ESS

HE (Little Coggeshall, TL8520, p. 284) POINTWELL MILL *Poyntel(le)melne* 1261 FF  
HI (Hatfield Peverel, TL7911, p. 288) HUSKETT'S MILLS *Hurscardesmell* 1272 Ass  
KB (Feering, TL8719, p. 391) FEERING MILL (local) and OLD MILL *North-, Southmelne* 1289 ER xxi  
KX (Belchamp Otton, TL8041, p. 410) MILL FM John *Attemelne* 1285 Ass  
L9 (Finchingfield, TL6832, p. 427) MILL FM Nicholas *attemelne* 1299 Ipm  
MM (Great Dunmow, TL6221, p. 475 see p. 637) POOL PASTURE *Polmelne* 13th Dunmow

#### HRT

PF (Hemel Hempstead, TL0607, p. 43) TWO WATERS *Tuewatirmelne* 1290 Dugd vi  
SV (Thundridge, TL3517, p. 206) WADESMILL *Wadesmeln* 1294 SR (p)  
SW (Ware, TL3614, p. 208) WESTMILL Henry de *Westmelne* 1294 SR

test item -MILL

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>

#### HRT

PF (Hemel Hempstead, TL0607, p. 42) BURYMILL END *Burmilne* 1290 VCH ii

#### MDX

XW (The Borough of Finsbury, TQ3182, p. 99) TURNMILL ST *Trillemille* 1294 Ass

test item -MILL

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

CAM

7M (Little Wilbraham, TL5458, p. 139) MILL RD Walter *Attemulwey* 1272 Ass

HRT

P6 (Great Berkhamsted, SP9808, p. 29) MILLFIELD HO *Northmulle* 1300 Ipm

PI (Kings Langley, TL0702, p. 45) APSLEY END and MILL *Apseleymulle* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO

PI (Kings Langley, TL0702, p. 46) NASH MILLS *Asshemulle* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO

PL (Northchurch, SP9708, p. 49) BANKMILL *Banekmull(e)* 1269 MinAcct, *Banekmull* 1300 Ipm

test item -MILL

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

BED

2U (Moggerhanger, TL1449, p. 93) SOUTH MILLS *Suthmulle* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Suthmilne* 1276 Ass

## Appendix D: OE /æ:/ Data

Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial

test item HEATH-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

ESS

BC (Hatfield Broad Oak, TL5416, p. 39) HATFIELD BROAD OAK *Hadfelda*, *Hatfelde* 1086 DB

HI (Hatfield Peverel, TL7911, p. 287-8) HATFIELD PEVEREL *Hafelda*, *Hadfeldam* 1086 DB

HRT

S7 (Much and Little Hadham, TL4219, p. 176) HADHAM *Hadam*, *Parva Hadā* 1086 DB

MDX

WD (East Bedfont, TQ0873, p. 14) HATTON *Hatone*, *Haitone* 1086 DB

test item HEATH-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>~<a>

HRT

QY (Bishops Hatfield, TL2207, p. 126) BISHOPS HATFIELD *Hatfeld(e)* 1086 DB, *Hetfelle* 1086 DB

test item SEA-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

ESS

IH (Peldon, TL9816, p. 322) SAMPSON'S FM *Samantunā* 1086 DB

test item HEATH-

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <e>

HRT

QY (Bishops Hatfield, TL2207, p. 126) BISHOPS HATFIELD *Hethfeld(e)* 1130 P

test item HEATH-

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>

ESS

EY (Hadleigh, TQ8187, p. 185) HADLEIGH *Hadleg(a)* 1121 AC

test item HEATH-

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <e>~<a>

ESS

BC (Hatfield Broad Oak, TL5416, p. 39) HATFIELD BROAD OAK *Hatfeld Brodehoke* 1121-36 WDB, *Hethfeld* 1128-34 HMC vii

test item HEATH-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

HRT

S7 (Much and Little Hadham, TL4219, p. 176) HADHAM *Heddeham* 1163-87 BM

test item HEATH-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

ESS

EY (Hadleigh, TQ8187, p. 185) HADLEIGH [*Had-*] *-lea* 1182 P

HRT

QY (Bishops Hatfield, TL2207, p. 126) BISHOPS HATFIELD *Hathfeld* t. Hy 2 Dugd ii, *Hadfeld* 1190 P, 1198 FF [one form with <æ> is recorded: (*æt*) *Hæðfælda* c. 970 (12th) ASWills]

test item HEATH-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<a>

ESS

BC (Hatfield Broad Oak, TL5416, p. 39) HATFIELD BROAD OAK *Edfelda* 1135-54 AddCh, *Hedfeld* 1173 P, *Hadfeld* 1155-64 P, *Hadfeld Reg'* 1190 P

HI (Hatfield Peverel, TL7911, p. 287-8) HATFIELD PEVEREL *Hedfeld* 1155 RBE, *Hadfeld Peurell* 1166 P

test item HEATH-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

ESS

BC (Hatfield Broad Oak, TL5416, p. 39) HATFIELD BROAD OAK [*Had-*] *-feud* 1241 For

EY (Hadleigh, TQ8187, p. 185) HADLEIGH [*Had-*] [*-lea*] 1231 Ch, Cl, *-leg(h)* 1238 SR, *Halleg'* 1231 Ch, Cl, *Hathleg(h)* 1237, 1240 Lib, 1239 Ch

HI (Hatfield Peverel, TL7911, p. 287-8) HATFIELD PEVEREL *Haffeld* 1230 Pat, 1234 FF, *Affeudpeverel* 1235 [FF]

JU (Boxted, TL9933, p. 363) BOXTED HEATH John *atte Hath* 1250 CottCh

HRT

Q3 (Monken Hadley, TQ2497, p. 75) HADLEY *Hadleg(h)* 1248 Ch

S7 (Much and Little Hadham, TL4219, p. 176) HADHAM *Hadeham* 1242 Cl, *Hadham* c. 1060 (c. 1250) KCD 907 (et passim, (*Parva*) 1303 FA), *Haddam* 1241 LiberA

MDX

WD (East Bedfont, TQ0873, p. 14) HATTON *Hatton(e)* 1211 RBE (*et freq*, (next *Bedefunte*) 1293 FF)

test item HEATH-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<a>

HRT

QY (Bishops Hatfield, TL2207, p. 126) BISHOPS HATFIELD *Hethfeld(e)* 1211 RBE, 1218 Dugd ii, [*Het-*] *-feld* 1211 RBE, *Hathfeld* 1222 Fees, 1230 Cl, 1250 FF, *Hatfeld* (e) 1210-12 RBE (et passim to 1500 Pat), *Hadfeld* 1220 Pat

test item MEAD-

Period: 1201-1251, spelling: <e>

ESS

K7 (Dedham, TM0533, p. 386 see p. 621) CHILLWELL MEADOW [*Cheld(e) wellewute*] *Mede* 1241 FF

test item SEA-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

ELY

Not localised, EPNS XIX: 206 [PDE NAME MISSING] (*le*) *Se(e)dic(h)(e)*, -y- 1221 ElyA (et freq to 1340 Imb) [the spelling is listed under ROMAN BANK but a note explains it could be SEA DIKE BANK]

ESS

IH (Peldon, TL9816, p. 322) SAMPSON'S FM *Semanneston* 1202 FF

test item HEATH-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

BED

3S (Heath and Reach, SP9227, p. 124) HEATH *la Hethe* 1276 Ass, 1287 Ass (p), *Hethe* 1297 SR

CAM

6B (Thriplow, TL4346, p. 90) HEATH FM *le Hethfeld* 1251 ElyCouch, 1277 Ely 79 (Ashley cum Silverley, TL6961, p. 124) ASHLEYHEATH FM *le Hethe* c. 1280 Hosp

ESS

BC (Hatfield Broad Oak, TL5416, p. 39) HATFIELD BROAD OAK *Hetfeud'* 1251 Cl, *Hethfeld* 1263 Ipm, *Heffeld regis* t. Hy 3 HMC vii [<a> in the 14th century]

HRT

Q4 (Abbots Langley, TL0901, p. 77) HEATH WOOD Alexander *ate Heth* 1294 SR

test item HEATH-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

ESS

CK (Dagenham, TQ4884, p. 91) BECONTREE HEATH is *Bekentre hathe* 13th EAS xvi EY (Hadleigh, TQ8187, p. 185) HADLEIGH *Hadleg(a)* 1251-65 FF *leye* 1254, 1260 FF, -*lee* 1287 [FF], *Alegh* 1254 Ass, [*Hath-*] -*lee* 1243 -60 HMC ix [one form with <o> is also recorded *Hodleye* 1285 Ass]

HRT

QY (Bishops Hatfield, TL2207, p. 126) BISHOPS HATFIELD *Hadfeld (Episcopi)* 1279 FF

QY (Bishops Hatfield, TL2207, p. 126) ASTWICK MANOR *Alswyke* in *Hatfelde* 1274 [FF]

QY (Bishops Hatfield, TL2207, p. 128) LUDWICK HALL *Ludewyke juxta Hatfelde* 1294 FF

S8 (Little Hadham, TL4219, p. 179) HADHAM PARK *parcum et warenn'* in *Pva Hadham* 1279 RH

MDX

WD (East Bedfont, TQ0873, p. 14) HATTON *Hatton(e)* (1211 RBE *et freq*), (next *Bedefunte*) 1293 FF

test item HEATH-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<a>

ESS

HI (Hatfield Peverel, TL7911, p. 287-8) HATFIELD PEVEREL *Alia Hatfeud, Hatfeld Peuerel* 1254 Ass, *Hethfeld* 1263 Ipm, [see JEPNS 2: 44] *Hatfeud Peverel* 1277 EHR xl 415

HRT

Q3 (Monken Hadley, TQ2497, p. 75) HADLEY *Hadleg(h)* 1299 Pat, *-le(y)(e)* 1279 QW, 1291 Tax, 1294 Ass, *Haddeleye* 1254 Val, *Haddeleigh* (sic) 1294 Pat, *Hedle* 1291 Tax

S7 (Much and Little Hadham, TL4219, p. 176) HADHAM *Magna Haddeham* 1261 FF, *Magna Hedham* 1278 Ass

test item MEAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<a>

HRT

OV (Ippollitts, TL2025, p. 14) MAYDENCROFT FM *Medcroft* 1269 FF, *Madecroft* 1287 [FF]

test item SEA-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

CAM

9G (Soham, TL5973, p. 200) WET and DRY SEALODES (*le*) *Se(e)lode* 1260 Ass, 1279 RH, *Seuelodes* 1277 Ely

test item SEA-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

ESS

IH (Peldon, TL9816, p. 322) SAMPSON'S FM *Samanton(e)* 1275 Ipm, 1276 Cl

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position in a name

test item -HEATH

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>~<ei>

CAM

6T (Horseheath, TL6147, p. 108) HORSEHEATH *Horseda* 1086 ICC, *Horsei* 1086 DB [despite <ei>~<ey> "Probably 'horse-heath'"]

test item -MEAD

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

HRT

SB (Great and Little Hornead, TL4029, p. 179) HORMEAD *Horemade* 1086 DB

test item -HEATH

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>~<e>~<ei>

CAM

6T (Horseheath, TL6147, p. 108) HORSEHEATH *Horset(e)* 1199 FF (et freq to 1410 Cl), *Horesathe* 1198 AC, *Horseye*, *-i-* 1195 Abbr (et freq to 1272 Ass), *Horse(e)*

1199 CurR, *Horeseia*, -ey(e), -eya t. Hy 2 BM (et freq to 1378 Pat), *Horeseg* 1200 CurR, *Oreseie* 1199 CurR

test item -MEAD

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

ESS

KY (Belchamp St Paul's, TL7942, p. 411) HOLE FM *Holemede* 1181 [StP]

test item -MEAD

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

ESS

HI (Hatfield Peverel, TL7911, p. 289) MARSHALLS *Smalemade* (altered to *Smalelande*) 1198 FF

HRT

SB (Great and Little Hormead, TL4029, p. 179) HORMEAD [*Hore-*] -*made* 1197 AD iii [*<e>* may have been attested, however, the record is not detailed enough after the DB entry: *Horemede* 1086 DB *et freq* to 1297 Pat]

MDX

XO (Tottenham, TQ3390, p. 80) BROAD MEAD (*le*) *Brademade* 1197 FF

test item -HEATH

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

CAM

6T (Horseheath, TL6147, p. 108) HORSEHEATH *Horse(e)* 1203-6 FF, *Horseth(e)* 1218 SR (et freq to 1416 Pat), *Orset(t)* 1230 Cl [*<ei>~<ey>* may have been attested, however, the record is not detailed enough after 1195: *Horseye*, -i- 1195 Abbr et freq to 1272 Ass]

test item -MEAD

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

CAM

8T (Willingham, TL4070, p. 173-4 see p. 367) WEST MEADOW *Westmede* 1221 ElyA

ELY

AP (Leverington, TF4411, p. 274) LONG MEADOW FIELD *Longemedwes* 1250 ElyM  
AY (Wisbech St Peter, TF4609, p. 298) SMALL MEADOW FIELD *Smalemedwe* 1221 ElyA

ESS

HI (Hatfield Peverel, TL7911, p. 288) GRAY'S FM *Gavelmed(e)* 1228 Ch, 1229 FF

test item -MEAD

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

ESS

BZ (Navestock, TQ5498, p. 71) HOLE FM *holemad* 1222 StP  
KY (Belchamp St Paul's, TL7942, p. 411) HOLE FM [*Hole-*] -*mad* 1222 StP  
O5 (Heydon, TL4340, p. 529 see p. 644) LANG MEAD FIELD *Langemade* 1208 FF

HRT

S2 (Aspenden, TL3528, p. 172) REE MEAD *Remade* 1226 FF



test item -MEAD

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<e>

BED

24 (Eaton Socon, TL1659, p. 56) BUSHMEAD *Bissop(es)med* 1227 Ass, 1231 FF, *Bissemmedwe*, *Byssemedwe* 1227 Ass, *Bissemede* 1227 Ass, 1236 BM, 1240 FF, Ass, 1243 Ipm, *Bissemade* 1227 Ass, 1242 Fees 886, *Bissopemedwe* 1234 FF, *Bismede*, *Bysmede* 1236 FF, *Bissepmede* 1239 FF, *Biscopemed* 1247 Ass

HRT

SB (Great and Little Hornead, TL4029, p. 179) HORMEAD [*Hore-*] *-made* 1236 Fees, (*Magna*) 1240 RBE, *Hormad(e)* 1204-12 Fees, [*Horemede*] (*Parva*) 1248 FF, *Parva Hormede* 1210-12 RBE

test item -HEATH

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<ey>

CAM

6T (Horseheath, TL6147, p. 108) HORSEHEATH *Horsede* 1285 Ass, *Hortseth* 1284 FA, 1298 Ass, *Horeseth* 1285 [Ass], *Horsheth(e)* 1272 Ass, 1283 Pat, 1298 FF, *Horskeye* 1268 Ass

test item -HEATH

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

ESS

B3 (Epping, TL4502, p. 22) EPPING *Eppying(ge)heth(e)* 1286 AD i [there is no comment about the etymology of *-heth(e)* but the following forms are listed subsequently: *Eppinghathe* 1323 AD i, *Eppingegate Heethe* 1361 IpmR, *Eppynge atte Hethe* 1362 Cl; see also AMBERSBURY BANKS below]

JU (Boxted, TL9933, p. 363) BOXTED HEATH Geoffrey *attehethe* 1272 Ass

test item -HEATH

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

ESS

B3 (Epping, TL4502, p. 22) AMBERSBURY BANKS *castrum de Eppynghatthe* 1299 WalthamC

EY (Hadleigh, TQ8187, p. 185) HADLEIGH *Kyngeshadlegh* 1289 FF

test item -HEATH

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<a>

ESS

KL (Stanway, TL9524, p. 399) STANWAY HEATH John *Attehethe de Stanwey* 1272 Ass, *Stanweyhath* 13th WalthamA

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

CAM

7F (Lode, TL5362, p. 132) LONG MEADOW *Langmedwe* 1260 FF, *Langemedede* t. Hy 3 Cole iv

7P (Fen Ditton, TL4860, p. 143) WADLOES FOOTPATH *Woteleuuemedwe* 1251 ElyCouch, 1277 Ely

96 (Long Stanton, TL3966, p. 183-4 see p. 362) [PDE NAME MISSING] *Bittermede*

## ELY

AY (Wisbech St Peter, TF4609, p. 298) SMALL MEADOW FIELD *Gretemedwe* 1251 ElyCouch [the PDE name may not be correct]

## ESS

HE (Little Coggeshall, TL8520, p. 284 see p. 615) CATS TAIL MEADOW *Cattistaylesmede* t. Ed 1 WAM

L2 (Bocking, TL7523, p. 413 see p. 625) KING FIELD *Kenefeldemed* 1285 Ass

## HRT

QN (St Paul's Walden, TL1922, p. 117) WALK WOOD Richard de *Walkemed* 1294 SR  
QZ (Knebworth, TL2520, p. 130 see EPNS XVII AetC: xxxix) [PDE NAME MISSING] *Dychmed* 1252 AD iii

S7 (Much and Little Hadham, TL4219, p. 176 see p. 298) LITTLE MEAD *Lytlemede* 1277 Ely

## MDX

XO (Tottenham, TQ3390, p. 80) BROAD MEAD [*Brade-*] *-mede* 1294 Ass

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

## ESS

BC (Hatfield Broad Oak, TL5416, p. 39 see p. 602) ALICE LEY MEAD *Alicemad* 13th HMC vii

CE (Theydon Bois, TQ4599, p. 83 see p. 605) LAND MEAD *Landmad* 13th WalthamA

IV (Brightlingsea, TM0817, p. 330 see p. 618) MILL FIELD *Melnemad* 1300 Dickin

M3 (Stebbing, TL6624, p. 457 see p. 633) COFFERY MEAD *Coffreresmad* 1287 Extent

JS (West Bergholt, TL9627, p. 361) KING'S FM *Kingesmadwe* 1272 Colch

OA (Stansted Mountfitchet, TL5124, p. 534) HOLE FM *Holemad* 1277-80 Ct

OC (Takeley, TL5621, p. 535 see p. 645) POOL MEAD *Polmad(e)* 13th WalthamA

OF (Wendens Ambo, TL5136, p. 543) NORTON END *Nortonemad* 1300 Ipms

## HRT

Q6 (Rickmansworth, TQ0494, p. 83 see p. 277) ALDBURY BUSHES *Aldeburymade* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO

Q6 (Rickmansworth, TQ0494, p. 83 see p. 277) BROAD FIELD *le Brodemade* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO

RW (Therfield, TL3337, p. 168) WELL FM *Wellemade* t. Hy 3 AD iii

RW (Therfield, TL3337, p. 166 see p. 295) WELL MEAD *Wellemade* t. Hy 3 AD iii

XN (North Mimms, TL2201, p. 66 see p. 274) ROUGH MEADOW *Rowmadfeld* t. Ed 1 WAM

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<e>

## BED

24 (Eaton Socon, TL1659, p. 56) BUSHMEAD *Bissemadwe*, *Byssemadwe* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Bissemade* Hy 3 BM, *Bismede*, *Bysmede* 1276 Ass, 1286 Dunst, *Bysmade*, *Bismade* 1276 Ass

34 (Biggleswade, TL1944, p. 102) SHORTMEAD (HO) *S(h)ortemade* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Schortmede* 13th AD ii

## HRT

SB (Great and Little Horstead, TL4029, p. 179) HORMEAD [*Hore-*] *-made* 1277 FF, *Horemade* (1086 DB) *et freq* to 1297 Pat, *Horesmede* 1274 Cl

## Appendix E: Voicing of initial fricatives [f] and [s] Data

Variable: initial fricative voicing of [f] name-initial

test item FOWE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <v>

ESS

KX (Belchamp Otton, TL8041, p. 410) FOWE'S FM Robert de *Vals*, *Valibus*, *Vaux* 1086 DB

test item FEN-

Period: DB 1151-1200, spelling: <f>~<v>

ESS

FU (North and South Fambridge, TQ8597, p. 214) FAMBRIDGE (NORTH and SOUTH) *Wanbrige* 1185 RotDom [subsequently *Vanbrigg* 1327 Londin, *Vambriege* 1541 LP], *Fanbruge* 11th (c. 1200) KCD, 907, 1042-66 (12th) LibEl, *-brege* 1017-35 (12th) LibEl, [earlier and subsequently *Fanbruge* 1086 DB, *-brig(g)* 1234, 1258 FF, *Phenbruge* 1086 DB, *Fenbricge* 1086 InqEl *-brugg'* 1228 FF, *-brigg* 1264 Abbr, *Fambrugge* 1086 InqEl, *-brig(ge)* 1223, 1239 FF, *Faumbrig* 1238 Pat, 1286 Ch, *f(f)ambreg(ge)* (*Parua*) 1285 Ass]

test item FIN-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <f>~<v>

MDX

XW (The Borough of Finsbury, TQ3182, p. 93) FINSBURY *Vinisbir'* 1231 FF, *Vinesbir'* 1235 Ass, *Finesbir'* 1235 Ass (*et passim* to 1475 FF, with variant spellings *Fynes-* and *-bury*, *-bery*), *Fyn(n)ebyr'* 1253 FF

test item FABDENS

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <v>

HRT

SR (Standon, TL3822, p. 199) FABDENS Stephen de *Vabadon* 1296 SR

test item FALCON-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <f>~<w>

ESS

HH (Faulkourn, TL7917, p. 287) FAULKBOURN *Walkebourn'* 1291 For, *Falkeburn(a)* 1256 FF, *Falehoburne* a. 1272 Colch, *Falkesburne* a. 1272 Colch, *Fokebourn*, *Fogebburn* 1267 Ch, *Faukeburn(e)* 1261-9 FF, a. 1272 Colch [earlier *Falcheburnā* 1086 DB, 1185 Templars, *Falkeburn(a)* 1198 Colch, *Fakeburne* 1201 Cur, *Faukeburn(e)* 1236 Fees]

test item FEN-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <f>~<v>

ESS

EP (Vange, TQ7287, p. 174-5) VANGE *Vahnge* t. Hy 3 BM, *Fenge*, (*Attenhok*) 1254 Ass, a. 1272 Colch, 1274 FF, *Fange* 1261 FF, (*Attehoke*) 1255 Ass, 1291 For, *Fanga*

1291 Tax, *Fenges* 1257-76 FF, 1285 QW, *Fanges* 1257 FF, *Fanges* a. 1272 Colch, *Phanges* 1299 Ch, *ffeynge* 1285 Ass, *Feynge* (*Attenoke*) 1286 FF  
[earlier *Fenge* 963 (12th) BCS 1102, *Fange* 1203, *Finges* 1203 Cur, *Fienges* 1223 FF, *Fenges* 1238 SR, 1248 Ass, *Fanges* 1248 Ass]

test item FIN-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <f>~<v>

MDX

XW (The Borough of Finsbury, TQ3182, p. 93) FINSBURY [*Vines*-] *-bur*' 1275 RH, *-byri* 1288, StPaulsMSS, *Soka de Fynisbyr*' 1274 Ass, *Fynesbury Soken* 1294 ib., *Fyn(n)ebyr*' 1274 Ass

test item FIVE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <v>

ESS

BP (Fyfield, TL5606, p. 56) FYFIELD *Vifhide* 1254 Ass, [previously *Fifhidam*, *-ā* (*al {t~}am*) [t is written with a ~ above it] 1086 DB, *-hide*, *Fyf*-, *-hyde* 1181 StP (*et passim* to 1332 Londin), (*Beauchamp*) *Fif(f)ide*, *Fyf*-, *-yde* 1212 RBE, 1239-48 FF]

test item FOX-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <v>

CAM

63 (Foxton, TL4148, p. 83) FOXTON *Voxtun* 1300 FF  
[earlier *Foxetune* 1086 DB, *Foxtona* 1086 ICC, *-ton(e)* 1202-1352 FF et passim, *-tun* 1218 SR]

test item FOWE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <v>

ESS

KX (Belchamp Otton, TL8041, p. 410) FOWE'S FM *Beucham de Waus*, *Vaus* 1274 RH

Variable: initial fricative voicing of [s] name-initial

test item OE *sid*- 'wide'

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <s>~<z>

ESS

DI (South Weald, TQ5793, p. 136) BROOK STREET *Zede*-, *Zeteburwebrok*' 1276 For, *Sed(e)bur(gh)e)brok(e)* 1270 Pat, *Sedeburnebroke* 1288 Misc [earlier *Sideburn(e)broc* 1198 Cur, *Sideburgbroc* 1233 Pat, *Syde(n)b(o)ur(gh)broc* 1234 ib., 'The brook by the wide earthwork,' v. *sid*, *burh*, *broc*]

Variable: initial fricative voicing [f] name non-initial

test item -FEN

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <v>

ESS

DQ (Bulphan, TQ6486, p. 144) BULPHAN *Bulgeuen* 1086 DB [voicing also subsequently *Bulvevanne* 1334 Cl, *Bulgwan* 1341 NI, [*Bule*-] *-vaune* (sic) 1318 Pat,

[*Bul-*] -uan 1594 N, *Bulvand* 1547 Will]

[subsequently *Bolegefanne* 1269 FF, *Bur(e)g(h)efen* 1243, 1247 FF, *Bulchfen* 1248 Ass, *Bulhefan* 13th StJohn, *Buluefen* 1255 Ass, *Bulewephen* 1291 Tax, *Bulephen* 1291 Tax, -fan 1300 Abbr]

test item -FIELD

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <v>~<uu>

HRT

RW (Therfield, TL3337, p. 166) THERFIELD *Derevelde* 1086 DB, *Furreuuelde* [1086 DB], [subsequently *Ferefeld* 1114-30 Ramsey, 1253 BM, *Therefeld* 1161-77 Ramsey, 1185 Templars, *Therefeud* 1267-85 AD i, c. 1285 BM, *Ther-* 1259 StPauls, 1271 FF, *Thirefeld* t. Hy 2 Dugd ii, *Terefeld(e)* 1197 AC et freq to 1278 Ass, with variant spelling -feud, *Terrefeld* 1210-12 RBE, *Terenfeud* 1278 Ass, *Tiresfeld* 1212 Fees, *Tyrefeud* c. 1275 Gesta]

test item OE (*twi*)-fyrde

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <v>

MDX

YH (The Borough of Willesden, TQ2284, p. 160) TWYFORD *Tueverde* 1086 DB, [subsequently *Twiferde* 1183 StPaulsCh, *Twiford* 1199 Cur et freq, with variant spelling *Twy-*, *Twyford* al. *Twyforth* 1402 Pap] ['Double ford,' v. *twi*, *fyrde*]

test item OE (*twi*)-fyrde 'double ford'

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <f>~<v>

MDX

YH (The Borough of Willesden, TQ2284, p. 160) TWYFORD [*Tw*-] -ferd, -fierd 1219 FF, -verd 1222 StPaulsDB (p), -ferd c. 1250 StPauls [subsequently, *Westwyford* 1274 Ass, Est *Twyford* next *Wylesdon* 1294 FF]

test item -FORD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <f>~<v>

ESS

C8 (Stanford Rivers, TL5303, p. 77) STANFORD RIVERS [*Stan-*] -vord(e) 1291 Tax, *Staunford* 1255 Ass, (*Magna*) 1285 QW, [*Stan-*] -(e)ford (*ryueres juxta Aungre*) 1289 Ass, (*Ripar'*) 1292 FF [earlier *Stanfort* 1086 DB, -(e)ford 1212 RBE, *Estanford* 1236 EAS xx, *Staunford* 1243 Cl, 1246 FF]

CS (Woodford, TQ4091, p. 110) WOODFORD [*Wode-*] -vorde 1274 RH, [*Wde-*] -ford 1270 Ct, *Wydefordefrith* 1264 Pat, 1285 Ch, *Wediford* 1274 RH, *Witford*, *Wotford*, *Watford* 1287 Loughton [earlier *Wodeforda*, -ford(e) 1062 (12th) KCD, 813 (*et passim* to 1291 Tax), *Wudeford(e)* 1062 (12th) KCD, 813, 1225 Cl, 1248 FF, *Wdefort* 1086 DB, -ford 1177 WalthamCh, 1228, 1239 FF]

HRT

T4 (Bayford, TL3008, p. 214) BAYFORD [*Bei-*] -vord 1275 RH, *Bayford* 1251 Ch [earlier *Begesford* 1086 DB, *Begeford* 12th StAlbansN (p), *Beggeford* 1172, *Beegeford* 1173, *Begeford* 1176 P, *Beiford* 1154 RBE, 1177 P (et freq to 1428 FA, with variant spelling *Bey-*), *Beford* 1228 Pat, *Beuford* 1247 ib., *Beynford* 1249 ib.]

Variable: initial fricative voicing [s] name non-initial

test item OE *-sǣte* 'settlers'

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <s>~<z>

#### CAM

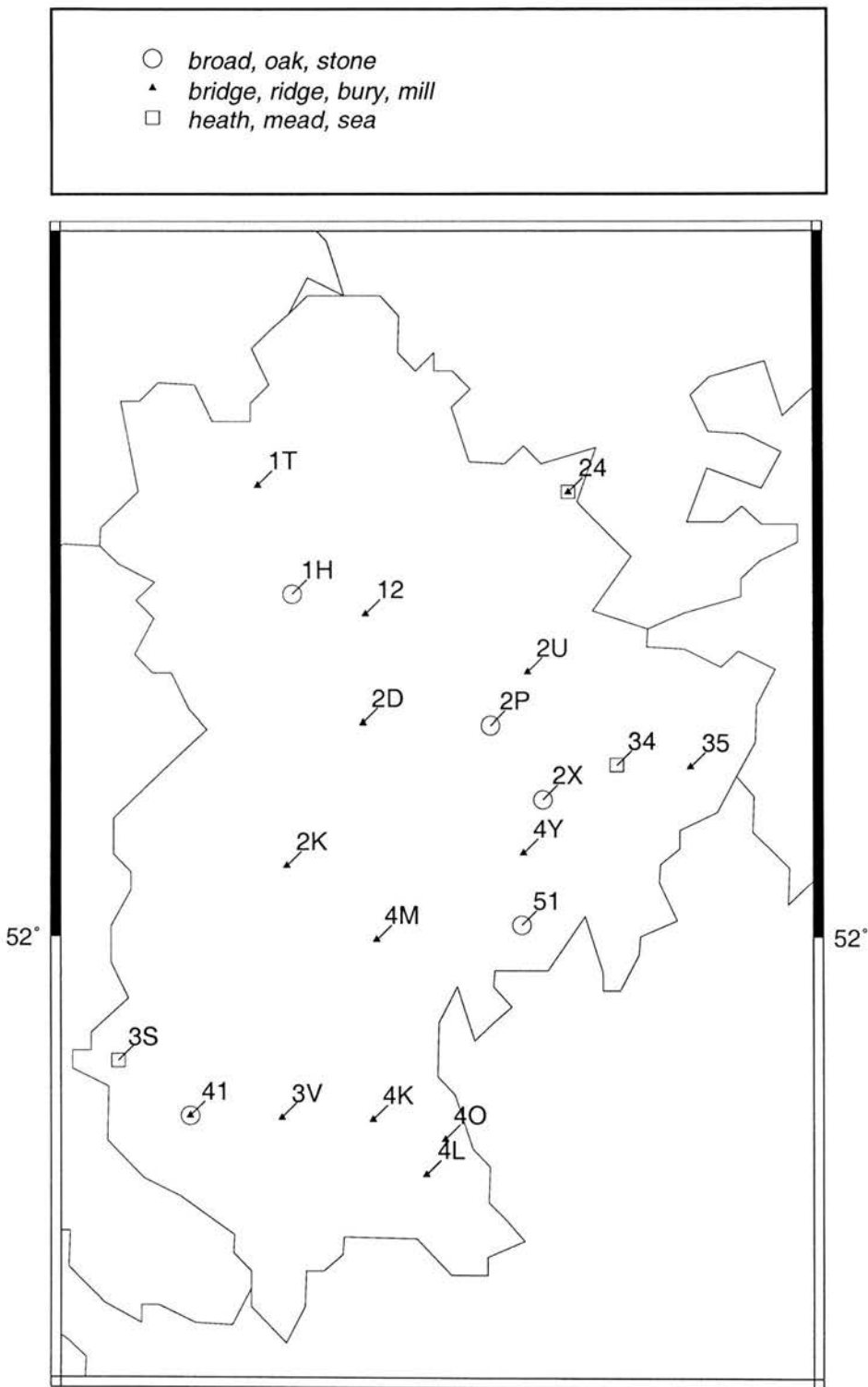
5U (Grantchester, TL4355, p. 75) GRANTCHESTER *Granzete* 1284 Ipm, *Gransethe* 1299 SR, [*Grante-*] [*-set(e)*] (iuxta *Cantebr'*), (cum *Cotes*) 1285 Ass, [*Grante-*] *-sset(e)* 1272 Ass, *Grantisset(e)* 1261 Cl, *Grantecete* 1270 Ipm, 1279 RH, 1284 FA, 1291 Tax, *Grantsete* 1272 Ass, 1294 Pat, *Grantese* 1267 Pat, *Grantece* 1268 Ass, (*immo Grandesete*) 1285 Ass, *Grancete* 1284 FA (et freq to 1417 AD iv) [OE *Grante-sǣte*, 'the settlers on the Granta,' v. *sǣte*]

[earlier *Granteseta*, *-sete* 1086 DB, *-set(e)* Cur (et freq to 1426 FF), *-sset(e)* t. Ric 1 Cur, c. 1236 NLC, 1242, *Grantshet* 1237 FF, *Grenteseta* 1086 ICC, *Grenteshet* 1212 RBE, *Grentesham* 1214 Cur, *Gransete* 1199 CurR (et freq to 1393 FF), *Grancett* 1245 FF]

Appendix F: Geographical Arrangement of Data

County: Bedfordshire

Map 40a: Data points in Bedfordshire.





Hundred: Bedfordshire  
12: pa Bedford TL0552

Place name: ALDERMANBURY p. 11

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Aldermanbury* 1299 Orig, IpmR [an earlier attestation has the form without the vowel under investigation, *Aldemanneby* 1226 CIR]

Hundred: STODDEN  
1H: pa Oakley TL0153

Place name: OAKLEY p. 24

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item OAK-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Achelai* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

*Achelea* 1174 P, *Akelai*, *Akelay* 1176, 1179 P

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Aklye* 1220 LS, *Akle* 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, *Acle* 1236 FF, Cl, 1242 Fees 868, 1247 Ass, *Ocle* 1247 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Akle* 1279 RH, *Acle* 1267 Ch, 1276 Ass, 1291 Tax, 1292 Cl, *Ocle* 1276, 1287 Ass, 1291 NI, *Okle(e)* 1276 Ass

Hundred: WILLEY  
1T: pa Sharnbrook SP9959

Place name: TRIKETSBURY p. 42

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <u>

*Trikatesburi* 1202 Ass

Hundred: BARFORD  
24: pa Eaton Socon TL1659

Place name: CADBURY p. 56

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

*Kadberia*, *Cadebyri* 1208 BM

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>~<u>

*Kadberia*, *Cadebyri* Hy 2 (Hy 3) St Neot 81, *Cad(d)esbiry* 1278 QW, *Cadesbury* 1287 Ass

Place name: BUSHMEAD p. 56

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<e>

*Bissop(es)med* 1227 Ass, 1231 FF, *Bissemedwe*, *Byssemedwe* 1227 Ass, *Bissemede* 1227 Ass, 1236 BM, 1240 FF, Ass, 1243 Ipm, *Bissemade* 1227 Ass, 1242 Fees 886,

*Bissopemedwe* 1234 FF, *Bismede*, *Bysmede* 1236 FF, *Bissepmede* 1239 FF, *Biscopemed* 1247 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<e>

*Bissemedwe*, *Byssemedwe* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Bissemade* Hy 3 BM, *Bismede*, *Bysmede* 1276 Ass, 1286 Dunst, *Bysmade*, *Bismade* 1276 Ass

Place name: SUDBURY p. 59

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Subberie* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <u>

*Sutburn* 1185 P

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Sutbir'* 1236 FF, *Suthbur'* 1242 Fees 867

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>

*Sudbyr'* 1276 Ass

Hundred: REDBORNSTOKE

2D: pa Elstow TL0546

Place name: MEDBURY p. 71

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>

*Meidebir'* 1227 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Mayden(e)byr'*, *Maydenbur'* 1276 Ass, *Maydeburn'* [sic] 1287 Ass (p)

2K: pa Millbrook TL0138

Place name: MILLBROOK p. 82

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Melebroc* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

*Melebroc* 1185 (c. 1200) Templars

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>

*Mulebrok* 1220 LS, *Millbrook* 1227 Ass, *Melebrok(e)* 1247 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<u>

*Melebroc* 1285 Ipm, *Mulebrok* 1276 Ass, 1284 FA, 1287 Ass, *Melebrok(e)* 1253 Abbr, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1293 Ch, *Mulbrok(e)* 1291 NI, *Melabroc* 1291 Tax [<o> is also attested: *Molebroke* R i (1286) Ch, 1290 Cl – most likely due to the influence of the Latin form of the word: *molinum* and its forms]

Hundred: WIXAMTREE

2P: pa WIXAMTREE TL1246

Place name: WIXAMTREE p. 87

Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -STONE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Wichestanestou*, *Wichenestanestou* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Wixtanestre* 1162 P, *Wic(h)stanestre* 1163, 1169 P, *Wich Stanestre* 1175 P, *Wicstanistre* 1173, 1175 P, *Wichstonestre* 1176 P, *Wixtonestre*, *Wyxtonestre* 1183 P, *Wikestonestou* 1185 P, *Wicstanestan* 1191 P [item STONE has not been analysed as name-initial in the light of the overwhelming evidence for its use in non-initial position]

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Wistanestre* 1202 Ass, *Wykestanestre* 1247 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Wistanestre* 1276 Ass, *Wyston(e)stre* 1284 FA, *Wixtonestre*, *Wyxtonestre* 1287 Ass

2U: pa Moggerhanger TL1449

Place name: SOUTH MILLS p. 93

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <u>

*South Mulne* 1245 Ipm

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Suth Mulne* 1270 FF

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MILL

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>

*Sudmille* 1220 LS (p)

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Suthmulle* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Suthmilne* 1276 Ass

2X: pa Southill TL1542

Place name: STANFORD p. 97

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stanford* 1086 DB *et passim*

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<au>

*Stamford* 1202 Ass, 1247 Ass, [and later 1377 Cl *Stand-* 1535 VE, 1588 D] *Staunford* 1227 Ass, 1238 FF, 1247 Ass, [and later 1346 FA]

Hundred: BIGGLESWADE

34: pa Biggleswade TL1944

Place name: SHORTMEAD (HO) p. 102

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<e>

*S(h)ortemade* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Schortmede* 13th AD ii

35: pa Dunton TL2344

Place name: MILLOW p. 103

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Melehou* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<u>

*Melnho* 1062 (12th) KCD 813, *Mul(e)nho* 12th c. HarlCh 83 B 39 (p), *Melho* 12th c. HarlCh 83 A 47 (p)

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>

*Melno* 1202 Ass, FF, 1247 Ass, *Milcho* 1201 Cur, *Mulho* 1204 FF, 1227 Ass, *Miln(e)ho* 1247 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>

*Melno* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Mul(e)nho* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Melho* 1253 Ch, *Miln(e)ho* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Milho* 1276 Ass

Hundred: MANSHEAD

3S: pa Heath and Reach SP9227

Place name: HEATH p. 124

Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial

test item HEATH-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*la Hethe* 1276 Ass, 1287 Ass (p), *Hethe* 1297 SR

3V: pa Houghton Regis TL0124

Place name: BURY SPINNEY p. 128

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BURY-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Buridene* 1295 FF

41: pa Stanbridge SP9624

Place name: STANBRIDGE p. 113

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stanburge* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

*Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1165, 1175 P, *Stanbregge* 1196 FF (P)

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<au>

*Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1220 LS, 1242 Fees 867, *Stanbrig(g)e*, *Stanbrygge* 1202, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, Cl, *Staunbrig(g)* 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, *Stanburgh* 1227 Ass, *Stantbrig* 1240 Ass; (half-hundred Stanbridge, SP9624, p. 113) *Stanbrigge* 1207 P, *Stanburgh* 1227 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Stanbrig(g)e*, *Stanbrygge* 1284 FA, (half-hundred Stanbridge, SP9624, p. 113) *Stanbrigge* 1284 FA, *Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1287 Ass, *Stanbrich* 1276 Ass, *Stambrug* 1292 Ipm

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<u>

*Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1165, 1175 P, *Stanbregge* 1196 FF (p) [earlier, as half-hundred p. 113: *Stanburge* 1086 DB]

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

*Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1220 LS, 1242 Fees 867, *Stanbrig(g)e*, *Stanbrygge* 1202, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, Cl, *Staunbrig(g)* 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, *Stanburgh* 1227 Ass, *Stantbrig* 1240 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

*Stanbru(g)g(e)* 1276, 1287 Ass, *Stanbrig(g)e*, *Stanbrygge* 1284 FA, *Stanbrich* 1276 Ass, *Stambrug* 1292 Ipm

Hundred: FLITT  
4K: pa Limbury TL0624

Place name: LIMBURY p. 155

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <u>

*Limbury* 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, *Lumbur(y)* 1250 Deed

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Lymbiri* c. 1225 (13th) Dunst, 1276 Ass, *Limbury* 1286 Dunst [*et passim*], *Lumbur(y)* 1276 Ass, 1290 AD iv, *Lumbyr'* 1276 Ass (p), [also attested: *Lunboreye* [sic] 1252 Ch (p), *Limberge* 1296 Cl, possibly due to confusion with *beorg*]

4L: pa Luton TL0921

Place name: COWRIDGE END p. 158

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

*Curegge* 1196 Whet i. 421

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <u>

*Kuruge* 1202 FF, *Curruge* 1247 Ass (p)

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Courigge* 1276 Ass, *Courugg(e)* 1297 SR (p), Ipm

4M: pa Pulloxhill TL0634

Place name: UPBURY p. 161

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

*Hubberia* 1166 P, *Hutberia* 1168 P, *Hutteberia* 1174 P

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>

*Upbiri* 1205 FF

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Hudburi*, *Hutbyr'* 13th Dunst, *Utbiri* 13th Dunst

4O: pa Stopsley TL1023

Place name: RAMRIDGE END p. 164

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Ramrugg* 1227 Ass, *Ramrigge* 1240 Ass (p)

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Ramerugge* 1290 AD iv (p), SR (p)

Hundred: CLIFTON  
4Y: pa Shefford TL1439

Place name: SHEFFORD p. 173

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Skegfordbregge* 1287 Ass

Place name: UPPER STONDON p. 177

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Standone* 1086 DB [*et passim* to 1712 BM]

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <au>

*Staundon* 1199 FF

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <o>

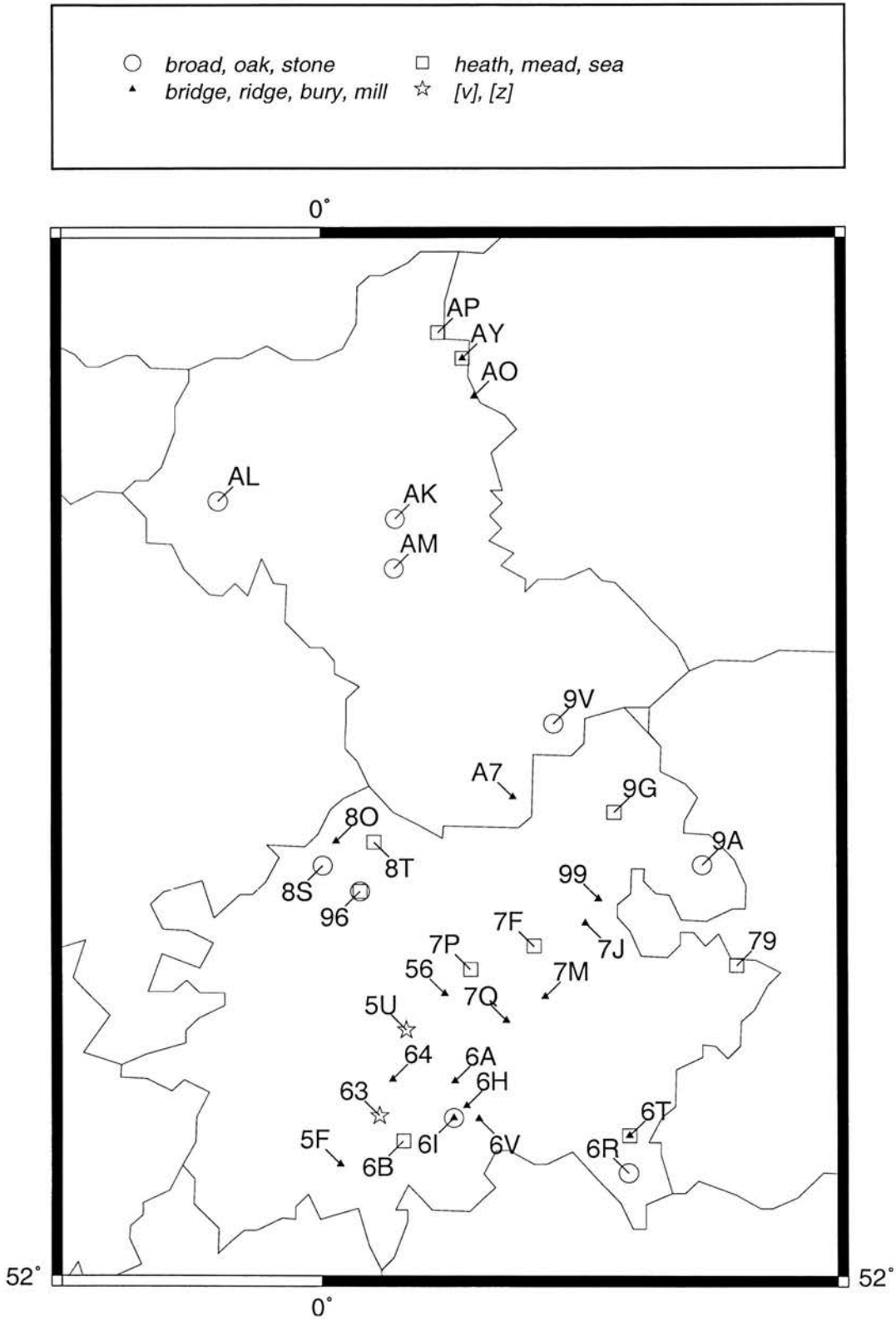
*Stondon(e)* 1247 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>~<au>

*Staundon* 1276, 1287 Ass, 1291 Tax, AD iv, *Stondon(e)* 1252 FF, 1276, 1297 Ass

[the DB entry *Standone* is followed by a comment “*et passim* to 1712 BM” (EPNS III: 177); this indicates that the spelling *Standone* appeared in records until 1712, it is not clear whether any *stan-* forms appeared in the period 1100-1300 as dates and sources are not provided]

Map 40b: Data points in Cambridgeshire and Ely.





Place name: CAMBRIDGE p. 36

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <i>~<u>

[(to) *Gránte-*] -brig(g)e 1086 InqEl, *Grantebrice* 1086 IngEl, *Grentebrige* 1086 DB, *Grenteburga* 1086 ICC, *Cantebrigie*, -a 1086 InqEl

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

*Grontebrugae* 12th Ord, (to) *Grantebrycge* (12th) LibEl, (to) *Grántebricge* 1170 LibEl, -brygge [1170 LibEl], [with variant forms -brecge, -breg(ge), -brug(g)ge, -brucge to 1285 Ass], *Græntebrigge* 1186 P, [*Granta-*] -brycge c. 1200 [ASC (E)], *Grentebrigge* 1187 P, *Cantebrigge* 1185 P [with variants -briche, -brigia, -brig(g)(e), -brug(g)e, -brugia, -e, -breg(g)e, -bregia to *Cantebrigge* 1540 Ct], *Kantebrig* 1196 FF, *Canteburge* 1191 France, [<e> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough]

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i/y>~<u>

*Canteburge* 1201 CCh, -berg' 1201 P, *Kanteberge* 1212 ANG, *Crantebr'* 1219 FF, *Cauntebrig'* 1230 P, [with variant forms -brig(g)e, -brigia, -breg(g)e to -*Cauntebrugge* 1351 Pat], *Kauntebrigg* 1232 FF

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>~<u>

[*Gránte-*] [with variant forms] -brecge, -breg(ge), -brug(g)ge, -brucge to 1285 Ass], *Grauntebryge* 1272 Ass

Place name: BRIDGE WARD p. 38

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BRIDGE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <u>

*Bruggewarde* 1086 InqEl

Place name: MILNE WARD p. 38

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Melnewarde* 1298 Ass

Place name: STOURBRIDGE COMMON p. 43

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

*Stiebrig'* 1199 CurR, *Sterebreg(g)* 1199 P [et freq to c. 1480 CTerr]

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

*Sturesbrig* 13th St John's, *Sterebrug(g)* 1257 Cl [<e> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough]

Place name: BRIDGE ST p. 44

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BRIDGE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Briggstrate* 1254 Cl, *Bruggestrete* 1290 StJohn's

Place name: MISSING IN PDE p. 48

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i>

*Milnestrate* 1258 Barnwell, *Melnestrate* 1285 FF [also: *in vico Molendinorum* 1279 RH]

Hundred: ARMINGFORD  
5F: pa Melbourn TL3844

Place name: MELBOURN BURY p. 59

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BURY-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>

Alice de Byry 1272 Ass

Hundred: WETHERLEY  
5U: pa Grantchester TL4355

Place name: GRANTCHESTER p. 75

Variable: initial fricative voicing [s] name non-initial

test item OE -sǣTE 'settlers'

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <s>~<z>

*Granzete* 1284 Ipm, *Gransethe* 1299 SR, [*Grante-*] [-set(e)] (iuxta *Cantebr'*), (cum *Cotes*) 1285 Ass, [*Grante-*] -sset(e) 1272 Ass, *Grantisset(e)* 1261 Cl, *Grantecece* 1270 Ipm, 1279 RH, 1284 FA, 1291 Tax, *Grantsete* 1272 Ass, 1294 Pat, *Grantece* 1267 Pat, *Grantece* 1268 Ass, (*immo Grandesete*) 1285 Ass, *Grancete* 1284 FA (et freq to 1417 AD iv) [OE *Grante-sǣte*, 'the settlers on the Granta,' v. sǣte]

[earlier *Granteseta*, -sete 1086 DB, -set(e) Cur (et freq to 1426 FF), -sset(e) t. Ric 1 Cur, c. 1236 NLC, 1242, *Grantsset* 1237 FF, *Granteseta* 1086 ICC, *Granteset* 1212 RBE, *Grantesham* 1214 Cur, *Gransete* 1199 CurR (et freq to 1393 FF), *Grancett* 1245 FF]

Hundred: THRILOW  
63: pa Foxton TL4148

Place name: FOXTON p. 83

Variable: initial fricative voicing of [f] name-initial

test item FOX-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <v>

*Voxton* 1300 FF

[earlier *Foxetune* 1086 DB, *Foxtona* 1086 ICC, -ton(e) 1202-1352 FF et passim, -tun 1218 SR]

64: pa Harston TL4251

Place name: HARSTON MILL p. 85

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MILL

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

Adam *Attemelne* 1279 Ct

6A: pa Stapleford TL4751

Place name: VANDELBURY p. 88-9

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i/y>

*Wyndilbyry* t. Stephen LibEl

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>

*Wandlebria* c. 1211 GervT, *Wendelbiri* c. 1225 ElyM

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

[*Wendel-*] -beri(gate), (*portam de*) 13th ElyCh, ElyF

6B: pa Thriplow TL4346

Place name: HEATH FM p. 90

Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial

test item HEATH-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*le Hethfeld* 1251 ElyCouch, 1277 Ely

Hundred: WHITTLESFORD

6H: pa Sawston TL4849

Place name: BOROUGH GROVE p. 97

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BURY-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <u>

William de *Burgo* 1236 Cl

6I: pa Whittlesford TL4748

Place name: STANMOOR HALL p. 98

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

*Stonimere* 1290 Barnwell

Place name: WHITTLESFORD BRIDGE p. 98

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>

*Wyllisfordebrige* 1279 RH [also earlier: *pontem de Wytlesford* 1242 Cl]

Hundred: CHILFORD

6R: pa Shudy Camps TL6144

Place name: STONE FIELD p. 103 see p. 363

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Stanfeld* 13th Waltham

6T: pa Horseheath TL6147

Place name: LIMBERHURST FM p. 108

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

Walter de *Limberh*, *Lymbyri(g)* 1268-72 Ass, John de *Lymbery* 1298 Cole xxii

Place name: HORSEHEATH p. 108

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -HEATH

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>~<ei>

*Horseda* 1086 ICC, *Horsei* 1086 DB [despite <ei>~<ey> "Probably 'horse-heath'"]

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>~<e>~<ei>

*Horset(e)* 1199 FF (et freq to 1410 Cl), *Horesathe* 1198 AC, *Horseye*, -i- 1195 Abbr (et freq

to 1272 Ass), *Horse(e)* 1199 CurR, *Horeseia*, -ey(e), -eya t. Hy 2 BM (et freq to 1378 Pat), *Horeseg* 1200 CurR, *Oreseie* 1199 CurR  
 Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>  
*Horse(e)* 1203-6 FF, *Horseth(e)* 1218 SR (et freq to 1416 Pat), *Orset(t)* 1230 Cl [<ei>~<ey> may have been attested, however, the record is not detailed enough after 1195: *Horseye*, -i- 1195 Abbr et freq to 1272 Ass]  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<ey>  
*Horsede* 1285 Ass, *Hortseth* 1284 FA, 1298 Ass, *Horeseth* 1285 [Ass], *Horsheth(e)* 1272 Ass, 1283 Pat, 1298 FF, *Horskeye* 1268 Ass

6V: pa Pampisford TL4948

Place name: LANGFORD ARCH p. 112  
 Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
 test item -BRIDGE  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>  
*Longeforthebrige* 1290 Barnwell

Hundred: CHEVELEY  
 79: pa Ashley cum Silverley TL6961

Place name: ASHLEYHEATH FM p. 124  
 Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial  
 test item HEATH-  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*le Hethe* c. 1280 Hosp

Hundred: STAINE  
 7F: pa Lode TL5362

Place name: LONG MEADOW p. 132  
 Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position  
 test item -MEAD  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Langmedwe* 1260 FF, *Langemedede* t. Hy 3 Cole iv

7J: pa Swaffham Prior TL5764

Place name: REACH BRIDGE p. 137  
 Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
 test item -BRIDGE  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>  
 Geoffrey *Attebrigge* 1285 Ass

7M: pa Little Wilbraham TL5458

Place name: MILL RD p. 139  
 Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
 test item -MILL  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>  
 Walter *Attemulwey* 1272 Ass

Hundred: FLENDISH  
7P: pa Fen Ditton TL4860

Place name: WADLOES FOOTPATH p. 143  
Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -MEAD  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Woteleuuemedwe* 1251 ElyCouch, 1277 Ely

7Q: pa Fulbourn TL5156

Place name: WOODBRIDGE FIELD p. 143 see p. 365  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>  
*Wdebrige* 1225 AD

Hundred: PAPWORTH  
8O: pa Over TL3770

Place name: OVER p. 169  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>  
(*Ovre*) *iuxta Cantebrig* 1285 Ass  
8S: pa Swavesey TL3668

Place name: LONG STANTON FIELD FM p. 173  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -STONE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Longstanton'* 1287 Rental

8T: pa Willingham TL4070

Place name: WEST MEADOW p. 173-4 see p. 367  
Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -MEAD  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>  
*Westmede* 1221 ElyA

Hundred: NORTHSTOW  
96: pa Long Stanton St Michael TL3966

Place name: LONG STANTON p. 183-4  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>  
*Stantune* 1086 DB, *InqEl*, *Stantone* 1086 DB  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*Stanton(e)* 1161 P [*et passim*]  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<au>  
*Est Stantun* c. 1250 SR, *Stanton(e)* c. 1250 ElyA, *Staunton(e)* 1205 RBE [*et freq* to 1553 Pat]  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<au>  
*Stanton(e)* 1254 Val, 1285 Ass, 1281 Ipm, *Staunton(e)* 1272 Ass; [subsequently also <ai>  
*Long Stainton* 1438 IpmR]

Place name: STANWELL FIELD p. 183-4 see p. 368  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Stanwell* 1228 FF

Place name: MISSING IN PDE p. 183-4 see p. 362  
Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -MEAD  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Bittermede* 1251 Ch

Hundred: STAPLOE  
99: pa Burwell TL5866

Place name: NESS HO p. 188  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -MILL  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Nesmelne* 1279 RH

9A: pa Chippenham TL6669

Place name: STANNEL WOOD p. 190  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>  
*Stahulla* c. 1135 Hosp  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*Stanhille* 1184 [Hosp]

9G: pa Soham TL5973

Place name: WET and DRY SEALODES p. 200  
Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial  
test item SEA-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
(le) *Se(e)lode* 1260 Ass, 1279 RH, *Seuelodes* 1277 Ely

The Isle of Ely  
Hundred: ELY  
9V: pa Intermixed Lands rated to Ely St Mary and Ely Trinity.  
No. 2 TL5480

Place name: BROAD ST p. 215  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
test item BROAD-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
*Brodlane* 1280 Rental

Place name: THE QUAY p. 216  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
test item BROAD-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Bradehide* 1210 ElyM

Hundred: SOUTH WITCHFORD  
A7: pa Stretham TL5174

Place name: ELFORD CLOSES p. 238  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>  
*Eldeford(brigge)* 1251 ElyCouch

Hundred: NORTH WITCHFORD  
AK: pa March TL4196

Place name: BRADNEY FM p. 254  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
test item BROAD-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<o>  
*Bradenhee (piscariam)* 1221 ElyA, *Brod(h)ea* 1220-25 ElyCh i, *Brodhe* 1225 ElyCh i  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Brad(e)ne(-cote)* 1298 Ass

AL: pa Whittlesey TL2797

Place name: STONALD FIELD p. 262  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
*Stonhale* 13th [Thorney] [this name appears also with -*stan-* in non-initial position, spelt  
*Littlestanhale* c. 1246 Thorney]

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name non-initial  
test item -STONE  
Period: 1211-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Littlestanhale* c. 1246 Thorney

AM: pa Wimblington TL4192

Place name: STONEA p. 265  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*Staneie* 1170 LibEl  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <o>  
*Ston(e)heye* 1221 ElyA [*et freq* to 1497 Ely F]  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
*Stoney(e), -a* 1251 ElyCouch [*et freq* to 1760 EA xiii]

Hundred: WISBECH  
AO: pa Elm TF4706

Place name: FRIDAY BRIDGE p. 268  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>  
*Fridayesbrugg'* 1298 Ass



AP: pa Leverington TF4411

Place name: LONG MEADOW FIELD p. 274

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

*Longemedwes* 1250 ElyM

AY: pa Wisbech St Peter TF4609

Place name: RING'S END p. 297

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>

*Ringgebrigge* 1237 Thorney, 1248 ElyCh

Place name: SMALL MEADOW FIELD p. 298

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

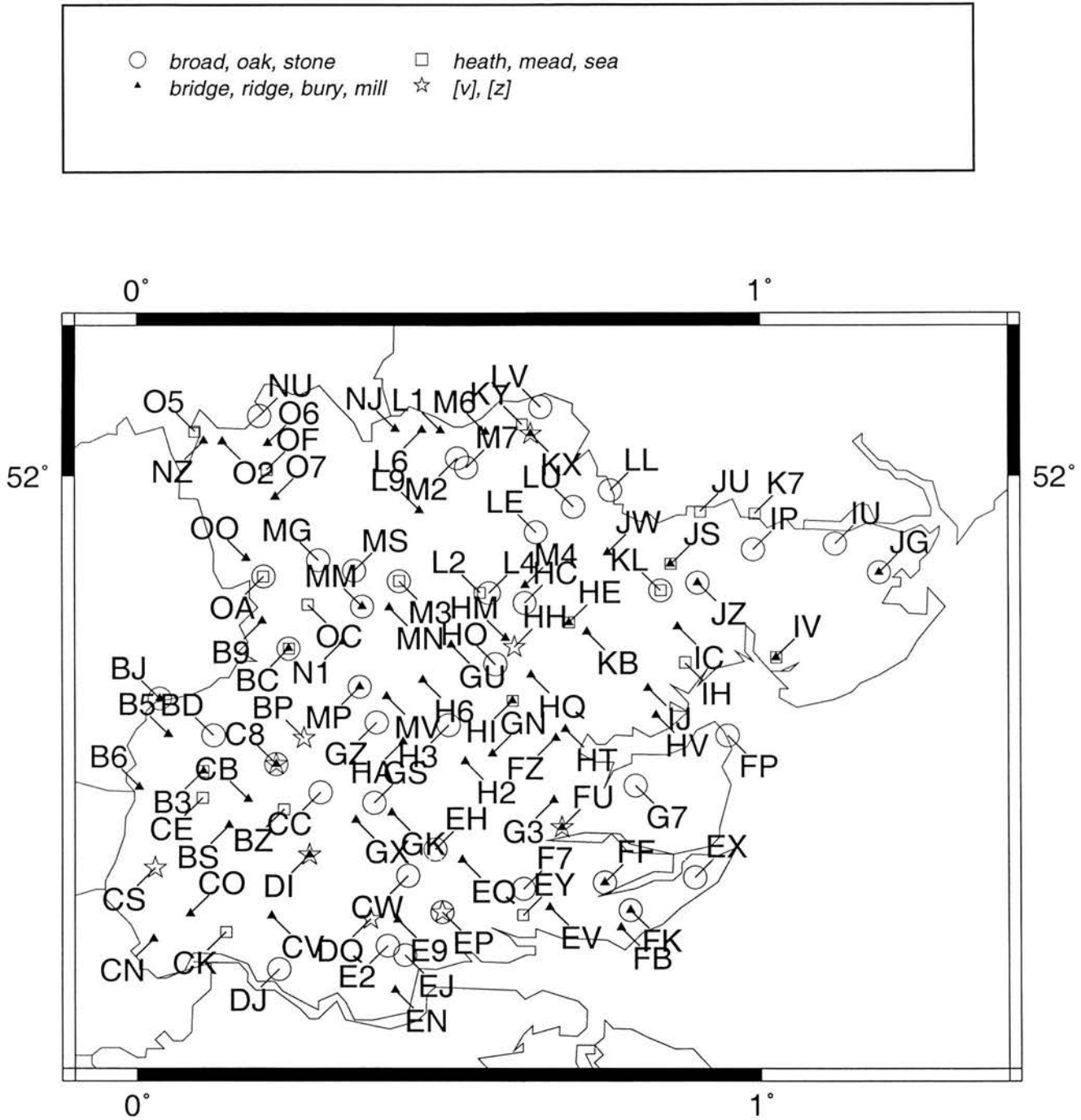
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

*Smalemedwe* 1221 ElyA

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Gretemedwe* 1251 ElyCouch

Map 40c: Data points in Essex.



Hundred: WALTHAM  
B3: pa Epping TL4502

Place name: EPPING BURY p. 23

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

*Prestberi* 1212 Fees

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Pres(te)bur(y)* t. Hy 3 Waltham, 1291 For

Place name: EPPING p. 22

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -HEATH

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Eppying(ge)heth(e)* 1286 AD i [there is no comment about the etymology of *-heth(e)* but the following forms are listed subsequently: *Eppinghathe* 1323 AD i, *Eppingegate Heethe* 1361 IpmR, *Eppynge atte Hethe* 1362 Cl

Place name: AMBERSBURY BANKS p. 22

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -HEATH

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*castrum de Eppynghatthe* 1299 WalthamC

B5: pa Nazeing TL4106

Place name: NAZEINGBURY p. 26

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BURY-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i>

*del Biry, ate Bery* 1270 Ct, t. Ed 1 Waltham

Place name: LANGRIDGE p. 26

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i>

*Langerige* t. Hy 2 Waltham

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<u>

*Langregg'* (p), *Langregesgrove* 1270 Ct, *-regg(e), -rugg'* t. Hy 3 Waltham (p)

B6: pa Waltham Holy Cross TL3800

Place name: BURY FM p. 31

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BURY-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

Walter de *Bery* t. Hy 3 Waltham

Hundred: HARLOW  
B9: pa Great Hallingbury TL5119

Place name: HALLINGBURY p. 34

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Hallingeberiam, Halingheberia, Halingeb(er)iam* 1086 DB [A form of -BURY with <u> is recorded before 1100: *Halyngbury* 1093 Dugd v, see JEPNS 2: 40]

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

*Hal(l)ing(h)eb(er)i(a), -bir(ia), -bery* 1190 P, *Hellingeberia* 1154-61 Colch

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>

*Hal(l)ing(h)eb(er)i(a), -bir(ia), -bery* 1096-1202 Colch, 1209 LibR, 1227, 1235 Fees, 1228 FF, 1240 Ct, *-berg* 1229 Cl, *Haligebir de Nevill* 1239 For, 1240 Ct, *Halliggebur'* 1240 Cl [the following entry also appears among the above tuples: (*John de Burgo*) 1239-41 For, it has not been included in the analysis of the names with BURY- in name-initial position]

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

[*Hal(l)ing(h)e-*] *-bir(ia), -bery (Great)* 1277 FF, *Alliggebyr'* 1274 Ct, *Hallyberi Nevile* 13th HMC vii

Place name: WALLBURY p. 35

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

*Halling- bir(iam) de Walla* 1212 RBE, 1227 Fees, *Hal(l)in(g)ber(i) de (la) Walle* 1219, 1235 Fees, 1235 Ass, *la Walle (in Hallinggebiri)* 1240 [Ch], *Hallyngeb'y la Walle* 1248 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>

[*Halling-*] *-byr Attewalle* 1261 FF, *la Walle (in Hallinggebiri)* 1267 Ch

Place name: MONKS BURY p. 36

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Hallyngebere monach'* 1285 Ass

BC: pa Hatfield Broad Oak TL5416

Place name: HATFIELD BROAD OAK p. 39

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <o>

*Hatfeld Brodehoke* 1121-36 WDB

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -OAK

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <o>

*Hatfeld Brodehoke* 1121-36 WDB

Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial

test item HEATH-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Hadfelda, Hatfelde* 1086 DB

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <e>~<a>

*Hatfeld Brodehoke* 1121-36 WDB, *Hethfeld* 1128-34 HMC vii

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<a>

*Edfelda* 1135-54 AddCh, *Hedfeld* 1173 P, *Hadfeld* 1155-64 P, *Hadfeld Reg'* 1190 P

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

[*Had-*] *-feud* 1241 For

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Hetfeud'* 1251 Cl, *Hethfeld* 1263 Ipm, *Heffeld regis* t. Hy 3 HMC vii [<a> in the 14th century]

Place name: BROAD STREET (GREEN) p. 43

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

*le Brodestrate* 13th AddCh

Place name: LANG BRIDGE p. 43

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>

*Lang(e)brig(ge)* 1260 FF (p) [also *iuxta cheminum longi pontis* 13th AddCh, *Lunpunt* 13th [HMC vii] (p)]

Place name: ALICE LEY MEAD p. 39 see p. 602

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Alicemad* 13th HMC vii

BD: pa Latton TL4606

Place name: STANGROVE p. 44 see p. 603

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Stangravehil* 1269 Ipm

BJ: pa Roydon TL4010

Place name: BROADLEY COMMON p. 50

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Bradeleye* t. Hy 3 Waltham

Place name: STONESHOT COMMON p. 50

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

*Stonishote* t. Ed 1 Waltham

Place name: ROYDON BURY p. 50

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BURY-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Le Bery* t. Hy 3 Waltham

Place name: MILL MEAD p. 49 see p. 603

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Melinfeld* c. 1300 Waltham

Hundred: ONGAR  
BP: pa Fyfield TL5606

Place name: FYFIELD p. 56

Variable: initial fricative voicing of [f] name-initial

test item FIVE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <v>

*Vifhide* 1254 Ass, [previously *Fifhidam*, -ā (*al{t~}am*) [t is written with a ~ above it] 1086 DB, -hide, *Fyf*-, -hyde 1181 StP (*et passim* to 1332 London), (*Beauchamp*) *Fif(f)ide*, *Fyf*-, -yde 1212 RBE, 1239-48 FF]

BS: pa Lambourne TQ4896

Place name: ABRIDGE p. 60

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

*Affebrigg(e)* 1203 Cur, -brug' 1239 FF

BZ: pa Navestock TQ5498

Place name: HOLE FM p. 71

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*holemad* 1222 StP

C8: pa Stanford Rivers TL5303

Place name: STANFORD RIVERS p. 77

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stanfort* 1086 DB

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<au>

[*Stan*]-(*e*)ford 1212 RBE, *Staunford* 1243 Cl, 1246 FF [also in name non-initial position *Estanford* 1236 EAS xx]

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<au>

[*Stan*]-(*e*)ford (*ryueres juxta Aungre*) 1289 Ass, ( *Ripar*') 1292 FF, -vord(*e*) 1291 Tax, *Staunford* 1255 Ass, (*Magna*) 1285 QW

Variable: initial fricative voicing [f] name non-initial

test item -FORD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <f>~<v>

[*Stan*]-vord(*e*) 1291 Tax, *Staunford* 1255 Ass, (*Magna*) 1285 QW, [*Stan*]-(*e*)ford (*ryueres juxta Aungre*) 1289 Ass, (*Ripar*') 1292 FF [earlier *Stanfort* 1086 DB, -(*e*)ford 1212 RBE, *Estanford* 1236 EAS xx, *Staunford* 1243 Cl, 1246 FF]

Place name: LITTLEBURY p. 77-8

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>

*Littlebir* 1234 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Litlebir*', *Litelbury(e)* 1287 Ass

CB: pa Stapleford Tawney TQ5099

Place name: PASSINGFORD BRIDGE p. 80

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

[*Pyssingford*-] -ebregge 1299 WalthamC

CC: pa Stondon Massey TL5800

Place name: STONDON MASSEY p. 81

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <au>

*Staundune* 1062 (12th) KCD 813

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Standon* 1202 FF, 1244 FF, 1238 SR

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<au>

[*Staun*]-don(e) 1291 Tax, [*Staun*]-den(e) 1295 [Ipm], [*Stan*] -dun' 1255 FF

[<o> in PDE; *Ston*- [*Staun*]-don(e) 1308 Ipm, Fine, 1314, 1374 Cl (by *Aungre*) 1324 London, 1328 Banco (*Marcy*) 1371 London, 1314 Ipm but also *Ston(n)don(e)* 1308 Ipm, 1316 BM, 1320 Pat, *Stondon* (*Masse*) 1542 Waller, (*Massie*) 1624 AddCh]

CE: pa Theydon Bois TQ4599

Place name: LAND MEAD p. 83 see p. 605

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Landmad* 13th WalthamA

Hundred: BECONTREE

CK: pa Dagenham TQ4884

Place name: BECONTREE HEATH p. 91

Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial

test item HEATH-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Bekentre hathe* 13th EAS xvi

CN: pa West Ham TQ4083

Place name: SUDBURY p. 95

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

*Suthbir(i)* 1201 Orig, *Suthbir(i)* 1207 Fine, *Sub(b)ir* 1230 P, 1234 Ch, [see EPNS XVII, AetC: xxxviii] *La Sudberi* 1201 CartAnt

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <y>~<u>

*Subyr'* 1274 RH, *Sud(de)bur(y)* 1251 Cl

CO: pa Ilford TQ4486

Place name: CLAYBURY p. 98

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY



Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*le Clayberye* 1270 Ct

CS: pa Woodford TQ4091

Place name: WOODFORD p. 110

Variable: initial fricative voicing [f] name non-initial

test item -FORD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <f>~<v>

[Wode-] -vorde 1274 RH, [Wde-] -ford 1270 Ct, Wydefordefrith 1264 Pat, 1285 Ch, Wediford 1274 RH, Witford, Wotford, Watford 1287 Loughton

[earlier Wodeforda, -ford(e) 1062 (12th) KCD, 813 (*et passim* to 1291 Tax), Wudeford(e) 1062 (12th) KCD, 813, 1225 Cl, 1248 FF, Wdefort 1086 DB, -ford 1177 WalthamCh, 1228, 1239 FF]

Hundred: THE ROYAL LIBERTY OF HAVERING-ATTE-BOWER

CV: pa Hornchurch TQ5386

Place name: WYEBRIDGE FM p. 114

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

*Wybregg(ecroft)* 1237 HPD

CW: pa Noak Hill TQ6891

Place name: NOAK HILL p. 116

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item OAK-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

Richard *ate Noke* t. Ed 1 HPD

Hundred: CHAFFORD

DI: pa South Weald TQ5793

Place name: DELL BRIDGE p. 138

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Del(le)bregg(e)* 1276 For, 1299 WalthamC

Place name: BROOK STREET p. 136

Variable: initial fricative voicing of [s] name-initial

test item OE *sid-* 'wide'

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <s>~<z>

*Zede-*, *Zeteburwebrok'* 1276 For, *Sed(e)bur(gh)brok(e)* 1270 Pat, *Sedeburnebroke* 1288

Misc [earlier *Sideburn(e)broc* 1198 Cur, *Sideburgbroc* 1233 Pat, *Syde(n)b(o)ur(gh)broc* 1234 ib., 'The brook by the wide earthwork,' v. *sid*, *burh*, *broc*]

DJ: pa Wennington TQ5480

Place name: NOAK HO p. 140

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item OAK-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

Henry *atte Noke* t. Hy 3 StJohn

Place name: MISSING IN PDE p. 140  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Standune (ad quercum)* t. Hy 3 StJohn

Hundred: BARSTABLE  
DQ: pa Bulphan TQ6486

Place name: BULPHAN p. 144  
Variable: initial fricative voicing [f] name non-initial  
test item -FEN  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <v>  
*Bulgeuen* 1086 DB [voicing also subsequently *Bulvevanne* 1334 Cl, *Bulgwan* 1341 NI, [Bule-] -*vaune* (sic) 1318 Pat, [Bul-] -*uan* 1594 N, *Bulvand* 1547 Will]  
[subsequently *Bolegefanne* 1269 FF, *Bur(e)g(h)efen* 1243, 1247 FF, *Bulchfen* 1248 Ass, *Bulhefan* 13th StJohn, *Buluefen* 1255 Ass, *Bulewepphen* 1291 Tax, *Bulephen* 1291 Tax, -*fan* 1300 Abbr]

E2: pa Horndon-on-the-Hill TQ6683

Place name: MISSING IN PDE p. 157-8  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BROAD  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Suthbradeworde* 1252 FF, 13th BM

E9: pa Langdon alias Laindon Hills TQ6786

Place name: GREAT and LITTLE BERRY p. 163  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item BURY-  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>  
Richard de *la Bere* 1200 Cur  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>  
*Burimore* 13th AD ii

EH: pa Ramsden Crays TQ7194

Place name: STANMER p. 167  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>  
*Stantmere* 1086 DB  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Stan(e)mere* 1218, 1222 Fees  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Stan(e)mere* t. Hy 3 WalthamA, *Stamere* [t. Hy 3 WalthamA (p)]

EJ: pa Stanford-le-Hope TQ6882

Place name: STANFORD-LE-HOPE p. 170  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <au>  
*Staunford* 1267 FF  
[*stan-* forms appear in the data after 1300 as follows: *Stanford* 1068 (1309) EHR xi, *et*

*passim*, (-upon-Thames) 1338 Cl, (*in the Hope*) 1361 FF, (*in le Hope, Hoop*) 1475, 1485 IpmR, (*Le Hope*) 1535 VE, *Staneford by Horndon* 1342 Ipm, *Stanvorde* 1412 Pat, *Standford* 1068 (1377) EHR xi, *Standeford Le Hope* 1535 VE, *Stanbrok (alias Stanford)* 1324 Ipm, *Stamford* 1348, 1349 Pap, *Stamvert, -verd Le Hope* 1662, 1678 Stifford]

EN: pa East Tilbury TQ6778

Place name: TILBURY p. 173

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Tiliberia(m)* 1086 DB [forms with <y> appear before 1100: *Tillabyri* 1066-87 WDB, 1071-85 Crispin]

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<u>

[*Tille-*] -bery 1199 FF, -bere 1200 FF, *Tilebur'* 1195 CurR

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>

*Tileburh* c. 1250 MP, *Tillebir(e)* 1199-1202 FF, (*Est-*) 1201 [FF], (*West-*) 1202, 1247 [FF], -biry 1248 [Ass], *Tylleber(y)* 1218 FF (*Com'*) 1238 SR

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>

*Tillebir(e)* (*Magna, Parva*) 1255 Ass, [*Tille-*] -byr (*contra Grevesend*) 1274 RH, [*Tylle-*] -bir, -byr 1227-53 FF, *Tylesbyr* (p), *Tyllyngbyr'* 1272 Ass, *Tellebir'* 1285 Ass

EP: pa Vange TQ7287

Place name: BRADFORD MARSH p. 174-5 see p. 610

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Bradewerde Mariscus de North, Sud* t. Ed 1 [BM]

Place name: VANGE p. 174-5

Variable: initial fricative voicing of [f] name-initial

test item FEN-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <f>~<v>

*Vahnge* t. Hy 3 BM, *Fenge*, (*Attenhok*) 1254 Ass, a. 1272 Colch, 1274 FF, *Fange* 1261 FF, (*Attehoke*) 1255 Ass, 1291 For, *Fanga* 1291 Tax, *Fenges* 1257-76 FF, 1285 QW, *Fanges* 1257 FF, *Fænges* a. 1272 Colch, *Phanges* 1299 Ch, *ffeynge* 1285 Ass, *Feynge* (*Attenoke*) 1286 FF

[earlier *Fenge* 963 (12th) BCS 1102, *Fange* 1203, *Finges* 1203 Cur, *Fienges* 1223 FF, *Fenges* 1238 SR, 1248 Ass, *Fanges* 1248 Ass]

EQ: pa Wickford TQ7493

Place name: MILL FIELD p. 176 see p. 610

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Melnfeld* 1299 Ipm

Hundred: ROCHFORD

EV: pa Eastwood TQ8488

Place name: SHOEBURY WOOD p. 182

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>

Peter de *Shobyr'* 1265 FF

EX: pa Foulness TR0092

Place name: MISSING IN PDE p. 183 see footnote on p. 149

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Bradewerde* 1244 AD

EY: pa Hadleigh TQ8187

Place name: HADLEIGH p. 185

Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial

test item HEATH-

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>

*Hadleg(a)* 1121 AC

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

[*Had-*] *-lea* 1182 P

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

[*Had-*] [*-lea*] 1231 Ch, Cl, *-leg(h)e* 1238 SR, *Halleg'* 1231 Ch, Cl, *Hathleg(h)* 1237, 1240 Lib, 1239 Ch

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Hadleg(a)* 1251-65 FF *leye* 1254, 1260 FF, *-lee* 1287 [FF], *Alegh* 1254 Ass, [*Hath-*] *-lee* 1243-60 HMC ix [one form with <o> is also recorded *Hodleye* 1285 Ass]

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -HEATH

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Kyngeshadlegh* 1289 FF

F7: pa Rayleigh TQ8190

Place name: LESTENESTON p. 195

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name non-initial

test item -STONE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

*Lestaniston'* (*Leostanton* ChancR) 1173 P (p), *Lefstanistona* (*Leofstaneston* ChancR) 1175 P (p)

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Lestaneston(e)* 1233 Fees, 1245 FineR (p)

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<e>

*Lestaneston(e)* t. Hy 3 RBE, *Lefstan(e)s-tun* t. Hy 3 Ipm, 1293 FF (p), *Lesteneston* 1256 [FineR], 1293 FF

FB: pa South Shoebury TQ9286

Place name: SHOEBURY p. 198

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Essoberiam*, *Soberiam* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>

[*So-*] *-beria* 12th France, *-biri(e)* 1195 P, *Sioberi* 1189-90 Dugd v, *Scobir(ia)* 1198 [FF], (see EPNS XXIII, AetC: xlvi) *Soberia* 1176 Clarkenwell, *Soburie* 1190 ib.

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

[*So-*] *-beri*, *-bir(y)* 1228 [FF], *-byre* c. 1230 Bodl, *-bery* 1238 SR, *Nortsobyr'* 1248 Ass, *Nord Scobire* 1202 [FF], *Shobir(e)*, *-bery*, *-byry* 1229 [FF], *Chobir'* (*Schobir* ChancR) 1230 P (p),

*Schober(i)*, -y 1247 FF

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

[*So-*] -beria (*Parva*) 1261 BM, -biri(e) t. Hy 3 RBE, -beri, -bir(y) 1288 FF, -bery 1294 Ipm, *Shobir(e)*, -bery, -byry 1262, (*Magna*) 1282 FF, (*Nort-*) 1254 Pat [*et freq* to 1428 FA], *Schobr'* 1254 FF, *Little Sobbiry* 1285 FF

FF: pa Great Stambridge TQ9091

Place name: STAMBRIDGE p. 202

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stanbruge* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

*Stanbruge* 1196 [FF]

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Stanbruge* 1206 FF, 1230 P, 1248 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <au>

*Staunbregg'* 1261 FF, *Staumbrugge* 1279 FF

[*stan-* forms appear in the data before 1251 (see the *stan-* data above) and after 1300 as follows: *Stanbruge* (*Moch-*) 1503 Ipm, -bregg(e) 1328 Londin, -bridge (*Mekill*) 1493-1500 ECP, (*Myche*) 1548 EAS xiii, 1768 M, *Stanyngbrugg* 1363 Londin, *Parva Stannebryght* 1412, *Stambrigge* 1428 FA, *much* *Stambridge* 1578 Rental, *Great Standbridge* 1552 FF]

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <u>

*Stanbruge* 1086 DB

[A form of -BRIDGE with <i> is recorded before 1100: *Stanbrige* 1087 MS Lambeth 1212 f. 13, see JEPNS 2: 43]

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <u>

*Stanbruge* 1196 [FF]

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

*Stanbruge* 1206 FF, -brig(ge) (*Parva*) 1230 P, (*Magna*) 1248 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<u>

*Great Staunbregg'* 1261, *Staumbrugge* 1279 FF

FK: pa Little Wakering TQ9388

Place name: STONEBRIDGE p. 205

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <au>

*Staunbrigge* 1279 FF

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>

*Staunbrigge* 1279 FF

Hundred: DENGIE

FP: pa Bradwell-juxta-Mare TM0308

Place name: BRADWELL-JUXTA-MARE p. 209

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Brad(e)well(e)* 1212 Fees  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Brad(e)well(e)* 1261 FF, *Bradfelt in mari* 1285 Misc

FU: pa North Fambridge TQ8597

Place name: FAMBRIDGE p. 214

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Fanbruge* 1086 DB, *Fenbricge* 1086 InqEl, *Phenbruge* 1086 DB, *Fambrugge* 1086 InqEl

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i/y>~<u>

c. 1200) KCD 907, 1042-66 (12th) LibEl, *-brege* 1017-35 (12th) LibEl, *Wanbrige* 1185 RotDom

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

[*Fan-*] *-brig(g)'* 1234, [*Fen-*] *-brugg'* 1228 FF, [*Fam-*] *-brig(ge)* 1223, 1239 FF, *Faumbrig* 1238 Pat

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

[*Fan-*] *-brig(g)* 1258 FF, [*Fen-*] *-brigg* 1264 Abbr, *Faumbrig* 1286 Ch, *f(f)ambreg(ge)* (*Parua*) 1285 Ass, *Northambregg* 1274 RH, *S(o)uthfambreg(ge)* 1291 Tax

Variable: initial fricative voicing of [f] name-initial

test item FEN-

Period: DB 1151-1200, spelling: <f>~<v>

(NORTH and SOUTH) *Wanbrige* 1185 RotDom [subsequently *Vanbrigg* 1327 Londin, *Vambrige* 1541 LP], *Fanbruge* 11th (c. 1200) KCD, 907, 1042-66 (12th) LibEl, *-brege* 1017-35 (12th) LibEl,

[earlier and subsequently *Fanbruge* 1086 DB, *-brig(g)* 1234, 1258 FF, *Phenbruge* 1086 DB, *Fenbricge* 1086 InqEl *-brugg'* 1228 FF, *-brigg* 1264 Abbr, *Fambrugge* 1086 InqEl, *-brig(ge)* 1223, 1239 FF, *Faumbrig* 1238 Pat, 1286 Ch, *f(f)ambreg(ge)* (*Parua*) 1285 Ass]

FZ: pa St Peter Maldon TL8407

Place name: FULLBRIDGE p. 219

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i>

*Fulebrige* 1185 Templars

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Folebregg(e)* 1275 AD v

G3: pa Cold Norton TL8400

Place name: NORTON p. 221

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>

*Norton iuxta ffanbrigge* 1285 Ass

G7: pa Steeple TL9302

Place name: STANESGATE ABBEY (FM ) p. 227

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stanesgata* 1086 DB

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>

*Stanagatam* 1121 [AC]

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

*Stanesgata* 1163-70 AC, *Stanasgata* 1163-70 AC, *Stanisgat'* 1194 CurR

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

[*Stanes-*] -gate 1254 FF, *Stan(e)gate* 1295 Pat [subsequently also with <ay> *Stayngat(e)* 1337 Cl, Fine, Pat, 1341 Cl]

Hundred: CHELMSFORD  
GK: pa Buttsbury TQ6698

Place name: MILLHILL WOOD p. 245

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>

*mill of Wluesdon* 1259 Ass

GN: pa Danbury TL7705

Place name: DANBURY p. 248

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Danengeberiam* 1086 DB

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

*Dan(n)ing(e)bir(y)* 1233 FF, *Dan(n)yng(h)ebyr(y)*, -biry 1247 FF, *Daingebr'* 1235 Ass, *Danegeber* 1238 SR

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>~<u>

*Dan(n)ing(e)bir(y)* 1255 Ass, 1280 Ch, 1282, 1283 Pat, -bury 1291 Pat, *Dan(n)yng(h)ebyr(y)*, -biry 1285 Pat, -bury 1286 Pat, *Daingebury* 1290 Pat, *Dang(he)bir'* 1254 Ass, *Denegeberi* 1267 Misc, *Dagheneberg*, *Dagnebir'* 1285 Ass, *Dan(e)bury* 1294 FF, *Denebur'* 1291 For, *Daneweberi* 1300 Inq aqd

GS: pa Ingatestone and Fryerning TQ6499

Place name: INGATESTONE p. 253

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name non-initial

test item -STONE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

*Ging(g)es*, *Gynge (Atteston)* 1283 Cl, *Ginge*, *Gynge (Attestone)* 1289 Ch, 1291 For

GU: pa Great Leighs TL7217

Place name: DERESBRIDGE p. 257

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

*Deresbrege* 1200 FF

GX: pa Mountnessing TQ6297

Place name: COWBRIDGE GRANGE p. 261

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <i>

*Cubrigeam* 1086 DB

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>

[*Cu-*] -brigg 1254 Pat



Place name: BURY WOOD p. 262  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item BURY-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>  
*birigwode* 1250 CottCh

GZ: pa Roxwell TL6408

Place name: STONEHILL FM p. 265  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
Gilbert de *Stonhulle* 1278 Ass

H2: pa Sandon TL7404

Place name: SPARE BRIDGE p. 267  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>  
*Sperke-*, *Sparkebrige* t. Hy 3 HMC v, 13th StJohn

H3: pa Springfield TL7208

Place name: OAKLEY p. 269  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item OAK-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
*Ocle* 1291 For

H6: pa Great Waltham TL6913

Place name: RISBRIDGE p. 271 see p. 613  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Rysebreg'* 1279 Ct

HA: pa Writtle TL6706

Place name: TWO BRIDGE p. 279  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>  
*Tunbrygge* 1274 RH (p), *Tonebrigge* 1276 For (p)

Place name: GREENBERRY LODGE p. 278  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BURY  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
(*La*) *Grenebery*, -*beri* 1283 Takeley

Hundred: WITHAM  
HC: pa Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall TL8022

Place name: BRADWELL-JUXTA-COGGESHALL p. 282  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item BROAD-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Bradewell(e)* 1238 SR

HE: pa Little Coggeshall TL8520

Place name: POINTWELL MILL p. 284  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item MILL-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>  
*Myll, Melle* 1261 FF

Variable: OE /y/ test items name non-initial  
test item -MILL  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Poyntel(le)melne* 1261 FF

Place name: CATS TAIL MEADOW p. 284 see p. 615  
Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -MEAD  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Cattistaylesmede* t. Ed 1 WAM

HH: pa Faulkbourn TL7917

Place name: FAULKBOURN p. 287  
Variable: initial fricative voicing of [f] name-initial  
test item FALCON-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <f>~<w>  
*Walkebourn'* 1291 For, *Falkeburn(a)* 1256 FF, *Falehoburne* a. 1272 Colch, *Falkesburne* a. 1272 Colch, *Fokebourn, Fogebburn* 1267 Ch, *Faukeburn(e)* 1261-9 FF, a. 1272 Colch  
[earlier *Falcheburnā* 1086 DB, 1185 Templars, *Falkeburn(a)* 1198 Colch, *Fakeburne* 1201 Cur, *Faukeburn(e)* 1236 Fees]

HI: pa Hatfield Peverel TL7911

Place name: HUSKETT'S MILLS p. 288  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name non-initial  
test item -MILL  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Hurscardesmill* 1272 Ass

Place name: HATFIELD PEVEREL p. 287-8  
Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial  
test item HEATH-  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>  
*Hafelda, Hadfeldam* 1086 DB  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<a>  
*Hedfeld* 1155 RBE, *Hadfeld Peurell* 1166 P  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Haffeld* 1230 Pat, 1234 FF, *Affeudpeverel* 1235 [FF]

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<a>

*Alia Hatfeud*, *Hatfeld Peuerel* 1254 Ass, *Hethfeld* 1263 Ipm, [see JEPNS 2: 44] *Hatfeud*  
*Peuerel* 1277 EHR xl 415

Place name: GRAY'S FM p. 288

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

*Gavelmed(e)* 1228 Ch, 1229 FF

Place name: MARSHALLS p. 289

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

*Smalemade* (altered to *Smalelande*) 1198 FF

HM: pa White Notley TL7818

Place name: FAMBRIDGE FM p. 294

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i>

*Fambrigge* 1186 StJohn (p)

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>

*Fanbrig* 13th StJohn

HO: pa Terling TL7715

Place name: NOAKE'S FM p. 297

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item OAK-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

Thomas *atte Noke* [1285 Ass]

HQ: pa Witham TL8114

Place name: HOWBRIDGE p. 301

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <u>

*Hobruge* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

*Hobrige* 1185 Templars, *-bregge* 1197 P (p), *Houbrig(ge)* 1198 Cur

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <u>

*Hobruge* 1204 FF, 1212 RBE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>

[*Ho-*] *-brig(ge)* 1219-61 FF, *How(e)brig(ge)* 1272 Ass

Hundred: THURSTABLE

HT: pa Heybridge TL8508

Place name: HEYBRIDGE p. 304

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

*Heaghbregge* c. 1200 Gervase

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<u>

*He(e)bregg(e)* 1222 StP (p), [see JEPNS 2: 45] *Tydwaldinton Heybrug* 1236 ECStP

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>~<u>

*Hebrugg* c. 1300 StP, *He(e)bregg(e)* 1254 Ass, *-brigg(e)* 1254-85 Ass, 1281 Pat *-brugg'* 1285 Ass, 1297 VStP, *Hebrech'* 1254 Ass, *Heberge* 1272 Ass, *Heybrigge*, *-brugg* c. 1300 StP

HV: pa Tollesbury TL9510

Place name: TOLLESBURY p. 304

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Tolesberia*, *-iam* 1086 DB

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>

[*Toles-*] *-bir(ia)* 1212 RBE, 1232 FF, *Tollesbir(e)* 1230 Bodl, *Tollebyr'*, *-bir* 1234, 1235 FF

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>

*Tollesbir(e)* (*Abbissee*) 1285 Ass, *Tollebyr'*, *-bir* (*Abbatisse*) 1285 Ass, *Thollesbr'* 1253 FF [forms with <e> and <u> are attested after 1300]

Hundred: WINSTREE

IC: pa Layer de la Haye TL9720

Place name: KINGSFORD BRIDGE p. 319

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

*Kyng(g)esford(e)brege*, *-brygg*, *-brigg'* 1285 Ass, 13th Paper

IH: pa Peldon TL9816

Place name: SAMPSON'S FM p. 322

Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial

test item SEA-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Samantuna* 1086 DB

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

*Semanneston* 1202 FF

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Samanton(e)* 1275 Ipm, 1276 Cl

IJ: pa Virley TL9413

Place name: PAYNE'S FM p. 323

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Paynesbregg(e)* 1285 Ass

Hundred: TENDRING

IP: pa Ardleigh TM0529

Place name: HART'S LANE p. 327

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

*Stonhard le Hert* 1276 For

IU: pa Bradfield TM1430

Place name: BRADFIELD p. 329

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Bradefeld* 1086 DB

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Bradeford* 1254 Ass

Place name: STREET FM p. 330

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

Alvred de Strete de *Bradfeud* 1255 Ass

IV: pa Brightlingsea TM0817

Place name: MILL FIELD p. 330 see p. 618

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Melnemad* 1300 Dickin

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Melnemad* 1300 Dickin

JG: pa Great Oakley TM1927

Place name: OAKLEY p. 345

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item OAK-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Accleiam*, *Adem* (sic) 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

*Aquileie* 1141-51 France, *Acheleia* 12th [France]

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Hacle* 1226 FF, *Acle(e)* 1219 FF, *Ak(e)le* 1248 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Acle(e) et freq (Magna)* 1256 FF, *Ak(e)le* 1268 Ipm, -ly 1286 FF, *Ocle* 1294 Pat, *Okle* 1298 FF

Place name: HOUBRIDGE HALL p. 346

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>

*Hobrigg'* 1248 Ass (p)

Hundred: LEXDEN

JS: pa West Bergholt TL9627

Place name: NEW BRIDGE p. 361

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Newbregg'* 13th WalthamA

Place name: KING'S FM p. 361  
Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -MEAD  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Kingesmadwe* 1272 Colch

JU: pa Boxted TL9933

Place name: BOXTED HEATH p. 363  
Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial  
test item HEATH-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*John atte Hath* 1250 CottCh

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -HEATH  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Geoffrey atteheth* 1272 Ass

JW: pa Chapel TL8928

Place name: CHAPEL p. 364  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>  
*Britesbrig* 1272 Ass [also in *capellam de Ponte Brichrich (Brychrych) de magna Teye* 1285 Ass]

JZ: pa Colchester TL9925

Place name: STANWELL ST p. 371  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*Stanwell(e)* 1180 P

Place name: ST BOTOLPH'S BRIDGE p. 377  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item BRIDGE-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Godulves bregge* 13th Oath [also *pontem Godulfi* 13th Colch]

K7: pa Dedham TM0533

Place name: CHILLWELL MEADOW p. 386 see p. 621  
Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial  
test item MEAD-  
Period: 1201-1251, spelling: <e>  
[*Cheld(e)wellewute*] *Mede* 1241 FF

KB: pa Feering TL8719

Place name: FEERING MILL (local) and OLD MILL p. 391

Variable: OE /y/ test items name non-initial

test item -MILL

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*North-, Southmelne* 1289 ER xxi

KL: pa Stanway TL9524

Place name: STANWAY p. 398

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stanewegā* 1086 DB

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>

*Stanuuēie* 1119 Colch [also in name non-initial position *Eststanweya* 1119 Colch]

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

[*Stan*]-*weia* 1198 [Colch]

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

[*Stan*]-*weghen* 1215 CLR, -*wey(e)* 1234 FF, -*wy* 1248 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Stanwey(e)* 1294 FF

Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -STONE

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>

*Eststanweya* 1119 Colch

Place name: STANWAY HEATH p. 399

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*John Attehethe de Stanwey* 1272 Ass, *Stanwayhath* 13th WalthamA

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -HEATH

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<a>

*John Attehethe de Stanwey* 1272 Ass, *Stanweyhath* 13th WalthamA

Hundred: HINCKFORD

KX: pa Belchamp Otton TL8041

Place name: MILL FM p. 410

Variable: OE /y/ test items name non-initial

test item -MILL

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*John Attemelne* 1285 Ass

Place name: FOWE'S FM p. 410

Variable: initial fricative voicing of [f] name-initial

test item FOWE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <v>

*Robert de Vals, Valibus, Vaux* 1086 DB

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <v>

*Beucham de Waus, Vaus* 1274 RH



KY: pa Belchamp St Paul's TL7942

Place name: HOLE FM p. 411

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

*Holemede* 1181 [StP]

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

[*Hole-*] -*mad* 1222 StP

L1: pa Birdbrook TL7041

Place name: MILL MEADOW p. 411 see p. 624-5

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Le Melnefeld* 1297 WDB

L2: pa Bocking TL7523

Place name: KING FIELD p. 413 see p. 625

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Kenefeldemed* 1285 Ass

L4: pa Braintree TL7623

Place name: STANFORD FM p. 417

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Stanford* 1285 Ass

L6: pa Steeple Bumpstead TL6841

Place name: MILL FIELD p. 419 see p. 626

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

Richard *atte Melefelde* 1287 Ass

L9: pa Finchingfield TL6832

Place name: MILL FIELD p. 419 see p. 626

Variable: OE /y/ test items name non-initial

test item -MILL

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

Nicholas *attemelne* 1299 Ipm

LE: pa Halstead Rural TL8130

Place name: STANSTED HALL p. 434

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stan(e)steda*, -ā 1086 DB

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a> see JEPNS 2: 46

*Stansteda* 1091-1119 Colne

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Stansted* 1240 FF, 1248 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Stansted* 1264 FF, 1264 Misc, [*Stan-*] -(e)*stede* 1254 EAS xviii, 1285 Ass, 1286 FF

LL: pa Bures TL8935

Place name: BLOSSOMS LYE p. 420 see p. 626

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item -STONE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

*Blac-* *Blakestone(s)hey(e)*, -is- 1291 For

LU: pa Pebmarsh TL8533

Place name: STANLEY HALL p. 451

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Stan(e)legh* 1282 Pat, -*ley(e)* 1287 Abbr

LV: pa Pentlow TL8144

Place name: BRADFIELD'S FM p. 451

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

BRADFIELD'S FM William de *Bradfeud* 1255 FF

M2: pa Stambourne TL7238

Place name: STAMBOURNE p. 456

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stanburna* 1086 DB,

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Stanburna*, -(e) 1227-47 Pat, [*et freq*] *Stamburn* 1221 FF

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Stanburna*, -(e) 1221-54 FF, *Stamburn* 1255 Ass, *Stalburn* (sic!) 1275 RH

M3: pa Stebbing TL6624

Place name: STONE'S FM p. 459-60

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

Robert *Stone* 1293 Rental

Place name: COFFERY MEAD p. 457 see p. 633

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Coffreresmad* 1287 Extent

M4: pa Stisted TL8024

Place name: MILL FIELD p. 460 see p. 635

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

*le Melnefeld* 1239 FF

M6: pa Tilbury-juxta-Clare TQ6476

Place name: TILBURY-JUXTA-CLARE p. 463

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Tiliberiam* 1086 DB

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <e>

*(Til(l)-, Tyl(l)eberia* 1142 Mandeville

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

*[Til(l)-, Tyl(l)e-] -bere* 1198 FF, [see JEPNS 2: 47] *Tilleberi, Tylleberu* 1156-8 BuryDoc

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

*[Til(l)-, Tyl(l)e-] -bere* 1238 SR, *-bir(ia) (juxta Clare)* 1212 RBE, 1215 Fees, *Tillesbir' (secus Clare)* 1218 Fees

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

*[Til(l)-, Tyl(l)e-] -bir(ia) (juxta Clare)* 1255 Ass, *Tullebur'* 1285 Ass

M7: pa Toppesfield TL7337

Place name: BRADFIELD'S FM p. 464

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

BRADFIELD'S FM Robert de *Bradfeud* 1272 Ass

Hundred: DUNMOW

MG: pa Broxted TL5726

Place name: BROADWATER FORD p. 472

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

*Brodewatere* 13th StJohn

MM: pa Great Dunmow TL6221

Place name: THE BROADWAY p. 475

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

*Brodstrete* 13th Dunmow

Place name: STRATFORD p. 476

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BRIDGE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>  
*Stratford Brigg extra Dunmawe* 1285 Ass

MN: pa Little Dunmow TL6221

Place name: MILL FIELD p. 478 see p. 637  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item MILL-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Melefeld* 13th StJohn

MP: pa Good Easter TL6212

Place name: NEWARKS (GREAT and LITTLE) p. 480  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
(*la*) *Stane* 1236 Dugd v  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>  
(*la*) *Stane* 1252 FF, *Stone by Godyve Estre* 1289 [FF]

Place name: FARMBRIDGE END p. 481  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>  
*Fenbrigg* 1216-25 WAM  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>  
*ffambrigg* 1285 Ass (p), *ffanbrigg* 1285 Ass (p)

MS: pa Great and Little Easton TL6125

Place name: EASTON (GREAT and LITTLE) p. 484  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -STONE  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>  
*Eistanes* 1086 DB, *Estances* 1086 DB  
Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>~<u>  
*Eastuna* 1119 Colch, *Estuna(m)* [1119 Colch], 1121 AC, *Ei-*, *Eystan(e)* 1141 Mandeville  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>~<o>~<u>  
*Eistanes* 1195 P, [*Es*] -*tune* 1135-54 Colch, [*Es*] -*ton(a)* 1154-89 [Colch], 1198 FF, *Ei-*, *Eystan(e)* 1166 [RBE], *Aistana* 1167 StJohn  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<o>~<ay>~<ey>  
*Ei-*, *Eystan(e)* 1212 RBE, (*ad Montem*) 1236 Fees, 1244-6 Ch, (*Atemunte*) 1247 FF, *Eyston* 1219 Fees, (*Atemunte*) 1247 FF, *Estane (Alatur)* 1235 Ass, *Eystaynes*, *Eysteynes* 1248 Ass  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>~<u>~<ai>  
*Eystanes* 1267 Abbr, 1269 Ch, *Aystan (Atte Mund)* 1275 FF, [*Es*] [-*ton(a)*] (*Done*) 1294 [FF], *Ei-*, *Eystan(e)* (*Petyt*) 1272 Ass, 1277 FF, *Eyston (Doune)* 1285 BM, FF, (*Dun-*) 1291 Cl, *Eyston* 1294 Ipm, *Estaines* 1261, 1280 Ipm, (*in*) *Majori Estones* t. Hy 3 Ipm, *Extanis* 1280 Ipm

Place name: BAMSTER'S p. 485  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -STONE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>  
*Eystan Blaumost'*, *Eyston Blamuster* 1285 Ass

MV: pa Mashbury TL6511

Place name: MASHBURY p. 488

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

*Masceberiam*, *Massebirig* 1086 DB [a form with <y> *Mæisbyrig* is ascribed to 1068; however it is found in a document dated to 1309]

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

[*Masse*-] -bir' 1227 FF, *Messebir(e)* 1203-6 FF, 1203 Cur, 1212 Fees, -ber(i) 1203 FF, -berge, -biria 1212 RBE, -byry 1218 FF

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

[*Masse*-] -bir' 1254 Ass, [*Messe*-] -ber(i) 1285 Ass, -byry (*Parua*) 1262 WAM, *Mas(sc)* hebyri 1287 FF

N1: pa High Roding TL6017

Place name: MILLER'S GREEN p. 493

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>

Geoffrey the miller 1208 FF

Hundred: FRESHWELL

NJ: pa Helion Bumpstead TL6541

Place name: MILL FIELD p. 509 see p. 642

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item MILL-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>

*Milnefeld* 1284 Queens

Hundred: UTTLESFORD

NU: pa Great Chesterford TL5042

Place name: BURTONWOOD FM p. 520

Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BROAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*B(o)urt(h)on(e)(brade)* 1285 Ass

NZ: pa Chrishall TL4439

Place name: CRAWLEY BURY p. 522

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

*Crouleber'*, -byr' 1285 Ass

O2: pa Elmdon TL4639

Place name: BOUND'S BRIDGE p. 527

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Bundesbrege* 13th AD ii

O5: pa Heydon 1 TL4340

Place name: LANG MEAD FIELD p. 529 see p. 644

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Langemede* 1208 FF

O6: pa Littlebury TL5139

Place name: LITTLEBURY p. 530

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>~<y>

*Litelbyriā* 1086 DB, *Lit(t)leberi* 1086 InqEl [Another form with <y> before 1100: *Lithlebyri* 1065-98 BuryDoc, see JEPNS 2: 47]

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

*Littelbirig* 11th (c. 1200) KCD 907, *-berig* 1042-66 (12th) LibEl, [see JEPNS 2: 47] *Lit(h)leberi* 1029-35 (12[th]) LibEl

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>

[*Lit(t)le-*] *-bir(e)* 1202 FF

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>

[*Lit(t)le-*] *-bir(e)* 1254 [Ass], (*Ep'i*) 1255 Ass ["*Episcopi* because the manor was held of the Bishop of Ely t. Hy 2."]

Place name: HOWE WOOD p. 531 see EPNS XIV, AetC: lviii

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>

*Lytlebirho* 1277 Ely

O7: pa Newport TL5233

Place name: NEWPORT p. 531

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Neuburg* 1270 Ch

OA: pa Stansted Mountfitchet TL5124

Place name: STANSTED MOUNTFITCHET p. 533

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stanestedam* 1086 DB

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Stan(e)sted(e)* 1201 FF [*et freq*]

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Stan(e)sted(e)* 1288-92 Ass, *Stanste* 1292 Ass

Place name: PARKFIELD PLANTATION p. 534

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

*Parcum de bosco de Stan(e)steda* 1184-91 P

Place name: HOLE FM p. 534

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Holemad* 1277-80 Ct

OC: pa Takeley TL5621

Place name: POOL MEAD p. 535 see p. 645

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Polmad(e)* 13th WalthamA

OF: pa Wendon Lofts TL5136

Place name: NORTON END p. 543

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Nortonemad* 1300 Ipm

Hundred: CLAVERING

OO: pa Manuden TL4926

Place name: ALBURY p. 551 see p. 649

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

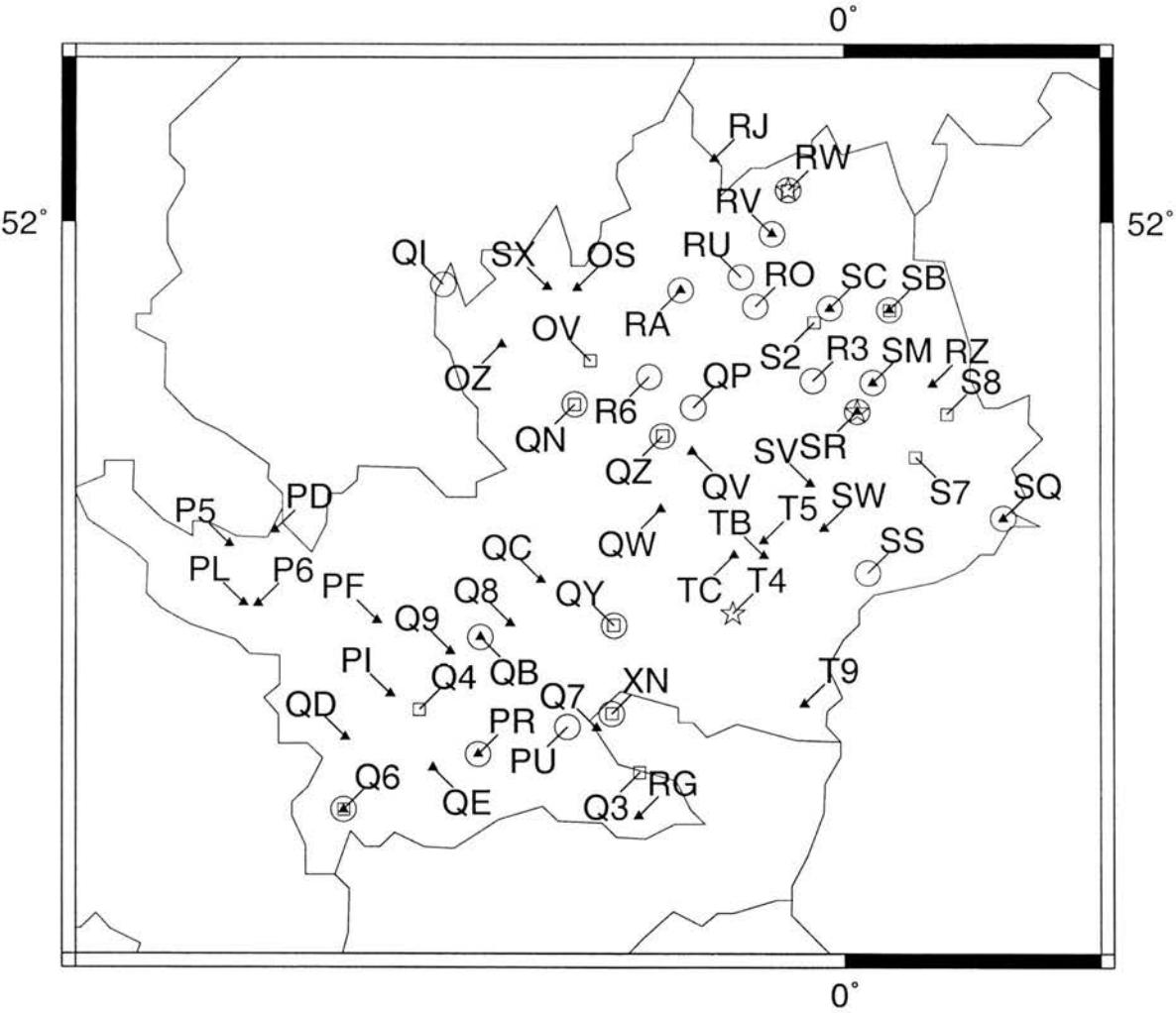
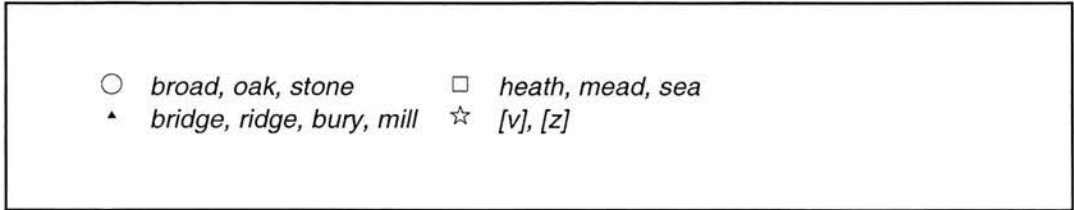
test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>

*Aldebir'* 1255 FF



Map 40d: Data points in Hertfordshire.  
Location RW attests OE /ɑ:/, /æ:/ and [v]. The symbol representing /æ:/ is obscured by that for [v].



Hundred: HITCHIN  
OS: pa Hitchin TL1930

Place name: BEARTON GREEN p. 9  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item BURY-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Berton(e)* 1287 Ass, 1294, 1296 SR [also *Biertun* 13th Hosp]

OV: pa Ippollitts TL2025

Place name: MAYDENCROFT FM p. 14  
Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial  
test item MEAD-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<a>  
*Medcroft* 1269 FF, *Madecroft* 1287 [FF]

OZ: pa Offley TL1426

Place name: PUTTERIDGE BURY p. 20  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -RIDGE  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>~<u>  
*Puderig* 1207 Cur, *Puderugge* 1240 FF, *Pudderug'* 1208 [FF] (p), *Pudderigge* 1248 Ass  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>  
*Puterugge* 1287 [Ass]

Hundred: DACORUM  
P5: pa Aldbury SP9612

Place name: ALDBURY p. 26  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BURY  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>  
*Aldeberie* 1086 DB  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>~<u>  
[*Alde-*] -*birie* 1203 FF, *Audebury* 1232 Pat, -*bir'* 1233 Ch,  
*Audebury* 1232 Pat  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<u>  
[*Alde-*] -*beri* 1262 Ipm, [*Aude-*] -*buri* 1262 Ipm

P6: pa Great Berkhamsted SP9808

Place name: MILLFIELD HO p. 29  
test item -MILL  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>  
*Northmulle* 1300 Ipm

PD: pa Little Gaddesden SP9913

Place name: ASHRIDGE p. 36  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -RIDGE  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <u>  
*Assherugge* 1200 Miss [*et freq* to 1540 LP]  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>  
[*Asshe-*] -*rigge*, -*rudge*, *Ashe-*, *Esserugge* 1283-93 Ch, 1286 Pat

PF: pa Hemel Hempstead TL0607

Place name: MILL MEADOW p. 270  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item MILL-  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <u>  
*Mulnefeld* c. 1200 Miss

Place name: BURYMILL END p. 42  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item BURY-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>  
*Burmilne* 1290 VCH ii

PI: pa Kings Langley TL0702

Place name: APSLEY END and MILL p. 45  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name non-initial  
test item -MILL  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>  
*Apseleymulle* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO

Place name: NASH MILLS p. 46  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name non-initial  
test item -MILL  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>  
*Asshemulle* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO

PL: pa Northchurch SP9708

Place name: BANKMILL p. 49  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name non-initial  
test item -MILL  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>  
*Banekmull(e)* 1269 MinAcct, *Banekmull* 1300 Ipm

Hundred: DETACHED PARISHES OF DACORUM  
PR: pa Aldenham TQ1398

Place name: BROAD FIELD p. 59 see p. 273  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
test item BROAD-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
*Brodefeld* t. Ed 1 WDB

Place name: NEWBERRIES PARK p. 63  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BURY  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>  
*Neweburi* 1283 WAM

XN: pa North Mimms TL2201

Place name: BRADMORE p. 66  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
Adam de *Brademere* 1296 SR

Place name: ROUGH MEADOW p. 66 see p. 274  
Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -MEAD  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Rowmadfeld* t. Ed 1 WAM

PU: pa Shenley TL1900

Place name: OAKHURST p. 68  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item OAK-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <o>  
*Ochers* 1248 FF  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
*Okersh* c. 1256 BM, *Ockerse* 1267 [FF], *Hokersse* 13th AD iv  
[*Acersce* 944-6 (13th) BCS 812, *Ac-* in this 13th century copy of a 10th century charter most likely preserves the 10th century spelling predating the OE /ɑ:/ to eME /ɔ:/ change, especially in the light of consistent <o> spelling recorded from 1248 onwards.]

Hundred: CASHIO  
Q3: pa Monken Hadley TQ2497

Place name: HADLEY p. 75  
Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial  
test item HEATH-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Hadleg(h)* 1248 Ch  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<a>  
*Hadleg(h)* 1299 Pat, *-le(y)(e)* 1279 QW, 1291 Tax, 1294 Ass, *Haddeleye* 1254 Val, *Haddeleigh* (sic) 1294 Pat, *Hedle* 1291 Tax

Q4: pa Abbots Langley TL0901

Place name: HEATH WOOD p. 77  
Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial  
test item HEATH-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
Alexander *ate Heth* 1294 SR

Q6: pa Rickmansworth TQ0494

Place name: BROAD FIELD p. 83 see p. 277  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item BROAD-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
*le Brodemade* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO

Place name: MILL END p. 83  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item MILL-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*le Melne Eyte* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO

Place name: ALDBURY BUSHES p. 83 see p. 277

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Aldeburymade* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Aldeburymade* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO

Place name: BROAD FIELD p. 83 see p. 277

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*le Brodemade* t. Ed 1 StAlbansO

Q7: pa Ridge TL2100

Place name: RIDGE p. 83

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item RIDGE-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i>

*la Rigge* 1248 FF, *la Regge* [1248 FF], c. 1250 WAM

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*(la) Rugge* 1255, 1278 Ass, 1291 Tax

Q8: pa St Albans TL1507

Place name: KINGSBURY p. 89-90

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Kengesbiri* 12th Gesta, *Kyngesbury* 1141-66 [Gesta]

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>

*(æt) Cyngesbyrig* 996-1006 (13th) Wills, [*Kynges-*] -*bir'* 13th BM

Q9: pa St Michaels TL1105

Place name: WINDRIDGE FM p. 92

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -RIDGE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <i>

*Wenrige* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i>

*Winrigge* 1195 P (p), *Winregge* 1195 CR (p) [*Wenringe* 1198 FF]

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <u>

*Wenrug(ge)* 1228 Pat, 1232 Bracton, *Wanrugge* [Bracton]; [*Winringe* t. John Dugd ii]

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Wyndrug(ge)* c. 1275 Gesta, [*Wyndryng* 1279 FF, *Wynryng* 1279 FF, *Wenrenge* 1287 Ass,

*Wynrynge* 1294 SR “we must take the form with a second *n* as irregular” EPNS XV: 92]

QB: pa St Stephens TL1306

Place name: BURSTON FM p. 97

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BURY-

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <u>

*Burstan* 12th Ch, *Burston(e)* t. Ric 1 Ch

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Berston* 1296 SR

Place name: PARKBURY p. 98

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

PARKBURY *Parcbiri* 1260 Gesta, *Parkesbur'* 1291 Tax

QC: pa Sandridge TL1710

Place name: SANDRIDGE p. 100

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -RIDGE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Sandrige* 1086 DB [*et passim*]

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

[*Sand-*] -*ru(g)ge*, -*rigge*, *Sanderig'* 1287 Ass,

Place name: THEBRIDGE p. 101

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

*Thebruge* t. Hy 2 Dugd, -*brigge* 1191 HMC ix

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

[*The-*] -*brugge* 1248 FF, [see EPNS XIX, AetC: lvi] *Tiebrigg* 1204 P

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>

*Tebrigge* 1262 Ass

QD: pa Sarratt TQ0499

Place name: OLLEBERRIE FM p. 103

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Aldebur'* 1294 SR, de *Eldebur'* 1296 [SR]

QE: pa Watford TQ1097

Place name: EASTBURY p. 107

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Estbury* 1290 Gesta

Hundred: DETACHED PARISHES OF CASHIO  
QI: pa Hexton TL1030

Place name: HEXTON p. 112  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -STONE  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>  
*Hegestanestone, Hegæstanestone* 1086 DB  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*Hecstanestun* 1151-66 [Gesta], *Hehstanestune* 12th Gesta  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<o>  
*Hecstonstun* 1219 Pap, *Hexsfanestone* 1235 FF  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Hexsfanestone* 1259 MP

QN: pa St Paul's Walden TL1922

Place name: BROADWAY p. 116  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item BROAD-  
Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>  
*Bradeweya* 1119-46 Ch

Place name: WALK WOOD p. 117  
Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -MEAD  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
Richard de *Walkemedede* 1294 SR

Hundred: BROADWATER  
QP: pa Aston TL2722

Place name: OAK'S CROSS p. 118  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item OAK-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
Robert *ate Noke* [1294 SR]

QV: pa Datchworth TL2719

Place name: GODBURY p. 122 see p. 286  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BURY  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Godebery* 1289 Abbr

QW: pa Digswell TL2515

Place name: SHERRARDS HO p. 125  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -RIDGE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i>  
*Scheregge* 1270 FF (p), *Shirigge* 1285 Pat, *Sheregge* 1287 Ass



Place name: STANBOROUGH p. 128  
 Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
 test item STONE-  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Stanberue* 1277 Ely, *-berwe* 1296 SR (p)

Place name: BISHOPS HATFIELD p. 126  
 Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial  
 test item HEATH-  
 Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>~<a>  
*Hatfeld(e)* 1086 DB, *Hetfelle* 1086 DB  
 Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <e>  
*Hethfeld(e)* 1130 P  
 Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>~<æ>  
*Hathfeld* t. Hy 2 Dugd ii, *Hadfeld* 1190 P, 1198 FF [one form with <æ> is recorded: (*æt*)  
*Hæðfelda* c. 970 (12th) ASWills]  
 Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<a>  
*Hethfeld(e)* 1211 RBE, 1218 Dugd ii, [*Het-*] *-feld* 1211 RBE, *Hathfeld* 1222 Fees, 1230 Cl,  
 1250 FF, *Hatfeld(e)* 1210-12 RBE (et passim to 1500 Pat), *Hadfeld* 1220 Pat  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Hadfeld (Episcopi)* 1279 FF

Place name: ASTWICK MANOR p. 126  
 Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial  
 test item HEATH-  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Alswyke* in *Hatfelde* 1274 [FF]

Place name: LUDWICK HALL p. 128  
 Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial  
 test item HEATH-  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Ludewyke juxta Hatfelde* 1294 FF

Place name: BROADWATER p. 130  
 Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
 test item BROAD-  
 Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>  
*Bradewatre* 1086 DB  
 Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*Bradewathdr* [*thd* each have a tilde above them] 1173 P, *Bradewater* 1175 P  
 test item BROAD-  
 Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Bradewater(e)* 1221 FF  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Bradewater(e)* 13th Wymondley

Place name: MISSING IN PDE p. 130 see EPNS XVII AetC: xxxix  
 Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position  
 test item -MEAD  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Dychmed* 1252 AD iii

R3: pa Great Munden TL3524

Place name: BRAD CROFT p. 133 see p. 288

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Bradecroft* 1211 FF

R6: pa Stevenage TL2424

Place name: STEVENAGE p. 137-8

Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -OAK

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stigenace* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

[*Stithen-*] -*hache* 1200 FF

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<e>

[*Stithen-*] -*ac'* 1201 Cur, -*ache* 1204 FF (*et passim* to 1428 FA with variant spelling), *Styth-*, *Stidenach'* 1203 Cur, -*hach* 1229 Pat, *Stivenach(e)* 1201 Cur (*et freq* to 1320 FF with variant spelling), *Stitheneche* 1230 FF

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<e>

*Stitenache* t. Hy 3 BM, *Styv-*, *Stivenhache* 1278 Ass, *Stitheneche* 1259 Pat, *Stiveneche* 1255, *Strytheneche* 1294 FF, *Stepenacath* 1275 RH, *Stevenach(e)* c. 1295 Gesta *Stethenhach* 1293 WAM

RA: pa Weston TL2630

Place name: LANNOCK p. 146

Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -OAK

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

*Langenache* 12th Dugd vi

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

*Langenok* 1255 Ass, -*och* 13th Wymondley,

Place name: NEWBERRY GROVE p. 147

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>

*Niwebire* 1208 FF

Hundred: DETACHED PART OF BROADWATER

RG: pa Totteridge TQ2494

Place name: TOTTERIDGE p. 149

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

*Taderege* 12th LibEl

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>

*Taterige* 1230 FF [*et passim* to 1428 FA]

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>

[*Tate-*] -*rugge*, -*regge*, -*riche*, -*reche* 1254 Val, *Tatterigg* 1251 Ch, [also -*ringg'* 1254 Val]

Hundred: ODSEY  
RJ: pa Ashwell TL2839

Place name: MILL ST p. 153  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item MILL-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>  
*le Mulnestrat* 1299 WDB

RO: pa Cottered TL3129

Place name: BROADFIELD p. 154  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
test item BROAD-  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>  
*Bradefella* (sic), *-felle* 1086 DB  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*Bradefeld(e)* 1195 P  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Bradefeld(e)* 1222 FF

RU: pa Rushden TL3031

Place name: FRIARS WOOD and GRANGE p. 163  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
test item BROAD-  
Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>  
*grangia de Bradefeld cum Fildenewoda* p. 1150 Dugd v

RV: pa Sandon TL3234

Place name: GANNOCK p. 164  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -OAK  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
*John atte Gannok* 1287 Ass

Place name: MILL END p. 166  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item MILL-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*le Melnende* 1277 [StPauls]

RW: pa Therfield TL3337

Place name: BRANDISH WOOD p. 166  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
test item BROAD-  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*Bradenach* 1161-77 AD iii  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Bradenech* 1221 FF  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
[*Braden*] *-ache* t. Hy 3 AD iii (p), [*Braden*] *-hach* 1294 SR (p), *boscus de Bradnache* 1294 AddCh

Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -OAK

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

*Bradenach* 1161-77 Ramsey,

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

*Bradenech* 1221 FF

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

[*Braden*] -ache t. Hy 3 AD iii (p), [*Braden*] -hach 1294 SR (p), *boscus de Bradnache* 1294 AddCh

Place name: WELL MEAD p. 166 see p. 295

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Wellemade* t. Hy 3 AD iii

Place name: WELL FM p. 168

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Wellemade* t. Hy 3 AD iii

Place name: THERFIELD p. 166

Variable: initial fricative voicing [f] name non-initial

test item -FIELD

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <v>~<uu>

*Derevelde* 1086 DB, *Furreuuelde* [1086 DB], [subsequently *Ferefeld* 1114-30 Ramsey, 1253 BM, *Therefeld* 1161-77 Ramsey, 1185 Templars, *Therefeud* 1267-85 AD i, c. 1285 BM, *Ther-* 1259 StPauls, 1271 FF, *Thirefeld* t. Hy 2 Dugd ii, *Terefeld(e)* 1197 AC et freq to 1278 Ass, with variant spelling -feud, *Terrefeld* 1210-12 RBE, *Terenfeud* 1278 Ass, *Tiresfeld* 1212 Fees, *Tyrefeud* c. 1275 Gesta]

Hundred: EDWINSTREE

RZ: pa Albury TL4324

Place name: ALBURY p. 169

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Eldeberie* 1086 DB

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Audebiria* 1210-12 RBE, *Aldeburia* 1241 LiberA [<e> may have also been attested, however, the record is not detailed enough: “et freq to 1332 FF, with variant spellings -biry, -bery, -bury, (juxta Pelham) 1387 FF”]

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

[*Aude-*] -bury 1291 Ch, *Aldeburia* 1241 LiberA [<e> and <i/y> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough after the date 1241: “et freq to 1332 FF, with variant spellings -biry, -bery, -bury, (juxta Pelham) 1387 FF”]

S2: pa Aspenden TL3528

Place name: REE MEAD p. 172

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Remade* 1226 FF

S7: pa Much Hadham TL4219

Place name: HADHAM p. 176

Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial

test item HEATH-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Hadam, Parva Hadā* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

*Heddeham* 1163-87 BM

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Hadham* c. 1060 (c. 1250) KCD 907 (et passim, (*Parva*) 1303 FA), *Haddam* 1241 LiberA

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<a>

*Magna Haddeham* 1261 FF, *Magna Hedham* 1278 Ass

Place name: LITTLE MEAD p. 176 see p. 298

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Lytlemede* 1277 Ely

S8: pa Little Hadham TL4219

Place name: HADHAM PARK p. 179

Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial

test item HEATH-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*parcum et warenn' in Pva Hadham* 1279 RH

SB: pa Little Hormead TL4029

Place name: STONEBURY p. 180

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stanes* 1086 DB

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <o>

*Stoneberi* 1220 Fees

Place name: STONEBURY p. 180

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

*Stoneberi* 1220 Fees

Place name: HORMEAD p. 179

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -MEAD

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Horemede* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

[*Hore-*] -made 1197 AD iii [<e> may have been attested, however, the record is not detailed enough after the DB entry: *Horemede* 1086 DB *et freq* to 1297 Pat]

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<e>

[*Hore-*] -made 1236 Fees, (*Magna*) 1240 RBE, *Hormad(e)* 1204-12 Fees, [*Horemede*] (*Parva*) 1248 FF, *Parva Hormede* 1210-12 RBE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<e>

[Hore-] -made 1277 FF, *Horemède* (1086 DB) *et freq* to 1297 Pat, *Horesmede* 1274 Cl

SC: pa Layston with Buntingford TL3629

Place name: LAYSTON p. 181

Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -STONE

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>

*Lefstanchirch* 1136-50 BM

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

*Leostanecherche* 1197 AC, *Loefstaneschirche* 12th AD v, *Liefstaneschirch* 12th AD

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Lefstanescherch* 1220 Pat

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Lefstanecherch* 1252-8 AD i, *Lefstonchirche* 1255 Ass, *Lefstonechurch* 1279 FF,

*Lefstonescherch* 1287 AD i, *Lestoncherche* 1287 FF, [Le] -stone- [cherche] 13th AD iv,

*Leston Cherche* 1289 AD iii [subsequently also <ey>: *Leyston* 1348 Cl, 1362 FF, 1535 VE]

Place name: BRIDGEFOOT p. 182

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BRIDGE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

Walter ate *Bruge* 1294 SR

Hundred: BRAUGHING

SM: pa Braughing TL3924

Place name: LITTLE BRAID p. 190 see p. 301

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Brade* 13th AD iv

Place name: GATESBURY p. 190

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>

*Getesberi* 12th AD iii, *Gatesberi* [12th AD iii], *-birie* 1198 FF [*et freq* to 1295 Ipm, with variant spellings *-bery*, *-bury*], *Katesbur'* t. Ric 1 P

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>

*Gattesbyr'* 1248 Ass [<e> and <u> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough after the date 1198: "*et freq* to 1295 Ipm, with variant spellings *-bery*, *-bury*"]

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Catesbury* 1295 Cl [<e> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough after the date 1198: "*et freq* to 1295 Ipm, with variant spellings *-bery*, *-bury*"]

Place name: CALVERY ORCHARD p. 190 see p. 302

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Caldeberi* 13th AD iii

SQ: pa Sawbridgeworth TL4815

Place name: BRADLEY p. 194 see p. 303

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Bradelegesfeld* 1257 Ass

Place name: PISHOBURY p. 194

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Pyssoubury* 1294 Ch

Place name: BRIDGEFOOT FM p. 195

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BRIDGE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

Thomas ate *Brege* 1294 SR

SR: pa Standon TL3822

Place name: STANDON p. 194

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Standone* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

[*Stan*]-*don(e)* 1194 HMC ix [*et passim*]

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Stan*]-*don(e)* 1234 Ch [*et freq* to 1307-14 Ipm], *Standune* 944-6 (c. 1250) BCS 812

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

*Stondon* t. Hy 3 BM [the PDE form has *stan*-; also <a> forms were found till late 14th c. but are only mentioned *et passim*]

Place name: PUCKERIDGE p. 198

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -RIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i> see EPNS XXIII, AetC: I

Willemus *Pukerich* 1220 Cur

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Pucherugge* 1294 SR (p)

Place name: FABDENS p. 199

Variable: initial fricative voicing of [f] name-initial

test item FABDENS

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <v>

Stephen de *Vabadon* 1296 SR

SS: pa Stanstead Abbots TL3911

Place name: STANSTEAD ABBOTS p. 200

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>



*Stan(e)stede* 1086 DB  
 Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*Stan(e)stede* 1198 FF [*et passim* to 1428 FA]  
 Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
 [*Stan(e)*] -*stude* c. 1247 BM  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Stanested(e)* 1261 FF, 1296 BM

Place name: BROADHOLME p. 200 see p. 305  
 Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
 test item BROAD-  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
*le Brodeholm* 13th WalthamB

SV: pa Thundridge TL3517

Place name: THUNDRIDGE p. 205  
 Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
 test item -RIDGE  
 Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>  
*Tozriche* (sic) 1190-1204 France  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>  
*Tunrich* 1254 Val, *Tunrigge* 1255 Ass, *Thonrugge* 1287 [Ass], *Thanrugge* 1277 Ch,  
*Thunrugge* 1293 Ipm [also *Tonrinch* 1086 DB, *Thunrungge* 1293 Ipm “the forms with a  
 second *n* are curious, but cf. Windridge supra 92” EPNS XV: 205]

SW: pa Ware TL3614

Place name: WESTMILL p. 208  
 Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
 test item -MILL  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
 Henry de *Westmelne* 1294 SR

SX: pa Westmill TL1730

Place name: AULBURY FIELD p. 209 see p. 307  
 Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
 test item -BURY  
 Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Aldebere* 13th AD ii

Place name: WESTMILL p. 209  
 Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
 test item MILL-  
 Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>  
*West Melne* 1225 FF

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
 test item -MILL  
 Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>  
*Westmele* 1086 DB, *Wesmele* 1086 DB  
 Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <e>  
 [*West-*] -*mella* 1130 P  
 Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i>~<u>  
 [*West-*] -*melna* 1163 [P], *Westmuln* 1161 P, -*mull* 1164 [P], *Westmilne* 1172 P

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i/y>~<u>  
[West-] -*melna* 1212 Fees, -*melle* c. 1240 BM, [West-] -*muln* 1235 Ch, *Westmilne* 1210-12 RBE

Hundred: HERTFORD  
T4: pa Bayford TL3008

Place name: BAYFORD p. 214  
Variable: initial fricative voicing [f] name non-initial  
test item -FORD

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <f>~<v>  
[Bei-] -*vord* 1275 RH, *Bayford* 1251 Ch[earlier *Begesford* 1086 DB, *Begeford* 12th StAlbansN (p), *Beggeford* 1172, *Beegeford* 1173, *Begeford* 1176 P, *Beiford* 1154 RBE, 1177 P (et freq to 1428 FA, with variant spelling *Bey-*), *Beford* 1228 Pat, *Beuford* 1247 ib., *Beynford* 1249 ib.]

T5: pa Bengoe TL3213

Place name: MILL MEAD p. 215 see p. 309  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item MILL-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>  
*la Melweie* 1220 FF

T9: pa Cheshunt TL3502

Place name: BURY GREEN p. 222  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item BURY-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>  
William de *Bury* 1294 SR

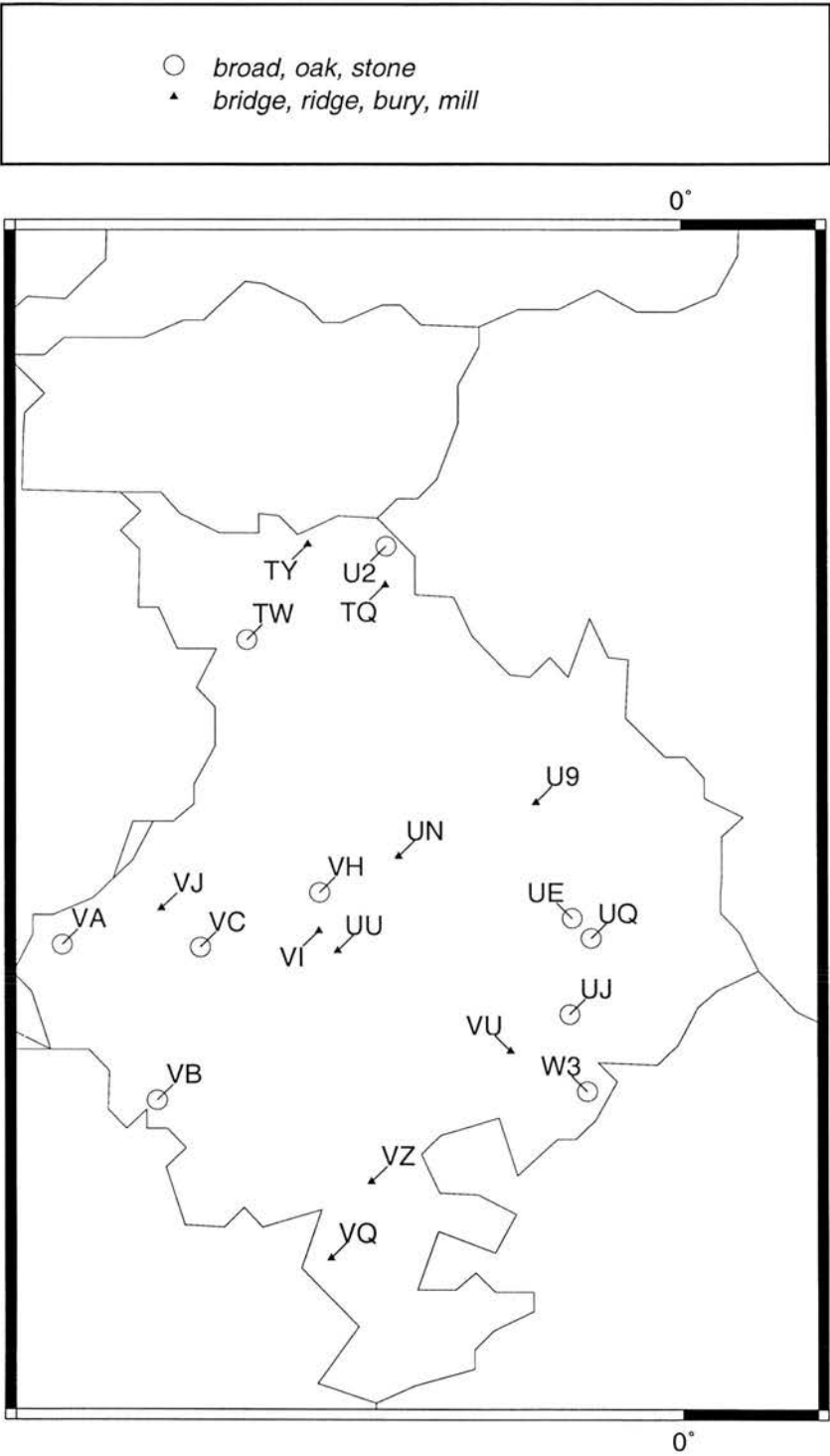
TB: pa Hertford TL3212

Place name: COWBRIDGE p. 225  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Cubreggestrete* 1296 Ass

TC: pa Hertingfordbury TL3012

Place name: HERTINGFORDBURY p. 227  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BURY  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>  
*Herefordingberie* 1086 DB  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i/y>  
*Hertfordingber'* 1212 Fees ["et freq to 1511 FF, with variant spellings -*yng-* and -*biry*, -*bur*"; <u> may have been attested in this sub-period, however the record is not detailed enough], *Hertfordingeberi* 1220 Fees, 1247 AD iii, -*byre* 1248 Ass, *Hertfordingesberi* 1248 AD iii  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>  
[*Hertfordinge-*] -*byre* 1266 FF, *Hertefordingbury* 1279 Pat, *Hertforthingbir'* 1280 Ass

Map 40e: Data points in Huntingdonshire.



Hundred: NORMANCROSS  
TQ: pa Farcet TL2094

Place name: FARCET p. 185  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item BRIDGE-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>  
*Faresheved Brygg* 1279 RH

TW: pa Morborne TL1391

Place name: OGERSTON p. 192  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -STONE  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>~<o>  
*Ogerestan(e)* 1185 (c. 1200) Templars, *Oggereston* 1189 ChR  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Ogerestan(e)* 1227 Ch  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Ogerestan(e)* 1253 Pat, 13th AD iv [subsequently <o> from 1305]

TY: pa Orton Longueville and Orton Waterville TL1696

Place name: BOTOLPH BRIDGE p. 194  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <i>  
*Botuluesbrige* 1086 DB  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i>  
*Botelesbrig'* 1200 FF  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>~<u>  
*Botuluesbrige* 1224 FF, 1242 Fees 425, *Botelbrig(ge)* 1220 FF, *Botulvesbrug* 1220 Fees 334,  
*Botolfbrigg* 1225 FF, *Botolvesbrug* 1227 Ass  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>  
*Botelbrig(ge)* 1290 Cl, *Botolfbrigg* 1260 Ass, *Botilbrig(ge)*, *Botylbryge* 1286 Ass, 1292 Ipm,  
*Botulfbrig* 1286 FF [subsequently also <u>]

U2: pa Stanground TL2096

Place name: STANGROUND p. 199  
Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>  
*Stangrun* 1086 DB  
Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>  
*Stangrund* c. 1150 (c. 1300-25) Thorney 168 b  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<ai>  
*Stangrund* 1270 Ass, *Standgrund* 1276 RH, *Staingrunt* 1286 QW, *Stainground* 1286 Ass

Hundred: HURSTINGSTONE  
U9: pa Bury TL2883

Place name: BURY p. 206  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item BURY-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>  
*Biria*, *Birig*, *Byrig*, *Biri*, *Biry*, *Byri* 1253, 1297 BM, 1300 Ct [earlier (*æt*) *Byryg* c. 1000]

UE: pa Old Hurst TL3077

Place name: HURSTINGSTONE p. 203

Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -STONE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Hyrstingestan, Hertingestan, Herstingestan* 1086 DB

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>

*Herstingestan* c. 1120-30 [BM], c. 1136-40 BM

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Hurstingestan* 1168 P, *Horstingestan* 1169 P, *Hurstincton* 1189 BM

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Hirstingestan* 1207 P, *Hirstlingestan* 1209 For, 1227 Ass, *Hurstingestan* 1227 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Hyrstingston, Hirstyngston* 1255 For, *Hirstingestan* 1270 Ass

UJ: pa St Ives TL3072

Place name: BROADWAY p. 221

Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BROAD

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <o>

*Langebrodeweie* 1217 FF [however, after 1300 *broad* appears with <a> and <o> in initial position *Bradeweie* 1301 and *Brodweydich* 1317]

UN: pa Wood Walton TL2180

Place name: WOOD WALTON p. 225

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>

*Waldebrigg* 1218 FF

UQ: pa Woodhurst TL3176

Place name: OCKLEY p. 229

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item OAK-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <o>

*Ocleywode* 1245 For

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Ocleywode* 1286 For, *Acle(y)* 1254-67 AD i, *Oklee* 1260 Ass, [*Occle* 1251 (c. 1350 Rams)]

Hundred: LEIGHTONSTONE

UU: pa Alconbury TL1875

Place name: ALCONBURY p. 231

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Acumesberie* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>~<i/y>

*Alcmundesbiri, Alcmundesberia* 1168, 1169 P, 1197-8 P

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Alkmundebir, Alcmundebir, Alkmundebury* 1230, 1233, 1237 Cl [et passim to 1428 FA],

*Alkemund(e)bury* 1238 Cl

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>

*Alkemund(e)bury* 1252 Ch, 1287 Orig, 1299 BM, *Aucmundebury* 1259 Pat, *Alcumbiri*, *Alkumbury*, *Alcumbury* 1285 FA, *Aumondebiry* 1286 Ass *Alkmond(e)bury*, *Alcmondebury* 1294 FF, E 1 BM

VA: pa Keyston TL0475

Place name: KEYSTON p. 243

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -STONE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Chetelestan* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

*Chetelestan* 1163, 1166 P, *Ketelestan* 1172 P, *Ketillistan* 1173 P

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Ketelestan* 1209 For, *Ketstan* 1227 Ass (p), *Ketlestan* 1227 Ass, *Ketelston* 1248 For

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Keston* 1255 (et passim to 1442 IpmR), *Ketston* 1260 Ass, *Kestan* 1260 Ass, 1272 FF, 1286 Orig, 1293 Ipm, 1299 FF

[subsequently also <ai>~<ay> *Kaiston* 1526 LS, *Keyston* 1553 FF, *Kayston* al. *Keyston* 1560 FF]

VB: pa Kimbolton TL0967

Place name: STONELY p. 244-5

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o> <ay>

*Stanlegh* 1260 Ass, *Stonle(gh)* 1260 Ass, *Stonle(gh)* 1260 E 1 BM, *Stonle(gh)* 1279 RH [et passim], *Staynley* 1287 Ass

VC: pa Leighton Bromswold TL1175

Place name: LEIGHTONSTONE p. 231

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -STONE

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>~<o>~<u>

*Lestone*, *Lestone*, *Delestune*, *Lectunestane* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Lehtunestan* 1163 P, *Legtonestan* 1168 P, *Lectunestane* 1175 P *Leochstoneston* 1180 P

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Lehtonestan* 1227 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<o>

*Lettonestan* 1255 For, *Lectoneston* 1285 FA, *Leytoneston* 1295 BM

VH: pa Upton TL1778

Place name: STANGATE HILL p. 249

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>

*Stangate* 1146 Cott vii. 3

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Stangate* 1286 Ass

VI: pa Alconbury Weston TL1776

Place name: ALCONBURY WESTON p. 249  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BURY  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>  
*Alkmundebir Weston* 1227 Ass

VJ: pa Old Weston TL0977

Place name: COCKBROOK LODGE p. 250  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>  
*aqua de Cukusbrygg, Cukusbrygg, Cukisbrygg* 1286 Ass

Hundred: TOSELAND  
VQ: pa Eynesbury TL1859

Place name: EYNESBURY p. 255  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BURY  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>  
*Einuluesberie* 1086 DB  
Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <i>  
*Einulfesbiri* 1125 WMP  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i>~<u>  
*Ainesbiri* 1163 P, *Enolfesburia* 12th Ord  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>  
*Eynebir* 1227 Ass, *Eynesbyr, -bir* 1234 FF, 1235 Cl, *Eynisbyr, -biry* 1248 FF  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>  
*Eynesbyr, -bir* 1286 Ass, *Eynisbyr, -biry* 1275 Cl

VU: pa Hemingford Abbots and Grey TL2770

Place name: LITTLEBURY p. 260  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item BURY-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>  
*Lytle Biryhill* 13th AD iii

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BURY  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>  
*Littlebire, Litlebyri* 1209 For

VZ: pa Great and Little Paxton TL2063

Place name: HAIL BRIDGE p. 264  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>~<u>  
*Hailebruge* 1265 Coroner, *Halyisbrigg* 1276 RH



Place name: FEN STANTON p. 267

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stantone* 1086 DB

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>~<au>

*Stantun(e)* 1234 Cl, *Staunton* 1227 Ass, 1229 Bract, 1234, 1236, 1238 Cl

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>~<au>

*Staunton* 1253 Ch, 1254, 1257 FF, 1286 Ass, *Stanton Grysebryke*, *Gryseby* 1257 FF, 1280 Ch, 1286 Ass, 1292 Ch, *Staunton Gryseby* 1272 FF

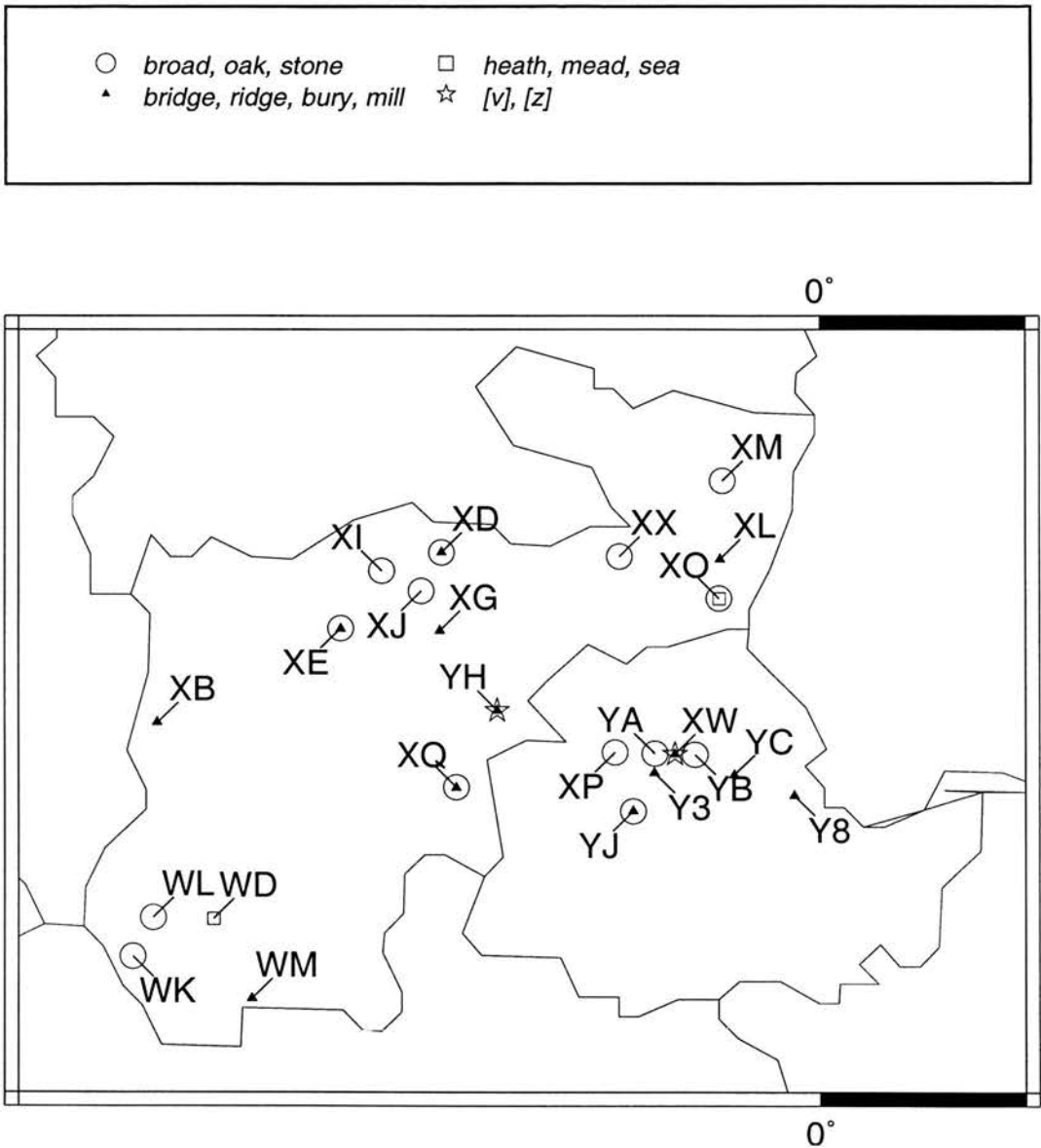
Variable: OE /a:/ test items in non-initial position

test item -STONE

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Fenstanton* 1260 Ass

Map 40f: Data points in Middlesex.



Hundred: SPELTHORNE  
WD: pa East Bedfont TQ0873

Place name: HATTON p. 14  
Variable: OE /æ:/ name-initial  
test item HEATH-  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>~<ai>  
*Hatone, Haitone* 1086 DB  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Hatton(e)* 1211 RBE (*et freq*, (next *Bedefunte*) 1293 FF)  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Hatton(e)* (1211 RBE *et freq*), next *Bedefunte* 1293 FF

WK: pa Staines TQ0471

Place name: STAINES p. 18  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>  
*Stanes* 1086 DB [*et passim* to 1593 N]  
Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>  
(*æt*) *Stane* c. 1150 ASC (E)  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*Stanis* 1167 P  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Stana* 969 (13th) BCS 1264, *Stane* 1066 (13th) KCD 855

Place name: STAINES BRIDGE p. 20  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Stanes* 1228 Cl

WL: pa Stanwell TQ0573

Place name: STANWELL p. 20  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>  
*Stanwelle* 1086 DB  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*Stanwell(e)* 1199 FF [*et passim* to 1316 FA]  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Stannewell* 1219 Abbr  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Staneswell* 1258 FF, *Stannewell* 1291 Tax

Place name: STANWELLMOOR p. 21  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item STONE-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Stanewell* 1274 Ass

WM: pa Sunbury TQ1069

Place name: SUNBURY p. 22

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Suneberie* 1086 DB [with a macron above *n*]

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <e>

*Suneberi(a)*, *Sunneberi* 1198 Cur

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

*Suneberi(a)* t. John Weinbaum,

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<i/y>~<u>

[*Sunne-*] -*bir*' 1274 Ass, *Sunneshyr*' [1274 Ass], *Sonnebery* 1291 Tax, *Sundebur*' 1294 Ass

Hundred: ELTHORNE

XB: pa Uxbridge TQ0583

Place name: UXBRIDGE p. 48

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <u>

*Oxebruge* 1145 Cur, *Wixebrug'* 1145 FF

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

*Oxebruge* 1198 Cur, *Wxsebrig'* 1198 Cur, *Uxebrigg(e)* 1200 P, [see JEPNS 2: 54] *Wxebruge* c.1180 Basset

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>~<i/y>~<u>

[*Oxe-*] -*bric* 1208 [Cur], -*brigg* 1235 Ass, *Wyxebrigge* 1220 FF, *Uxebrigg(e)* 1235 [Ass], -*brugg(e)* 1219 P, -*bregge* 1230 StPaulsCh, *Woxebruge* 1219 FF [et passim to 1433 FF, with variant spellings -*brigg(e)*, -*bregg(e)*], *Wuxebr'* 1235 Ass, -*brug(g)* 1242 Cl, [see EPNS XIX: lvii] *Wuxe(s)brig'* 1220 Cur

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

*Wyxebrigge* 1274, 1294 Ass, -*bruge* 1294 GDR, *Wixebrigge* 1274 Ass, 1277 Pat, -*brugg'* 1294 Ass, *Wxe-* [-*brig'*] 1274 Ass, *Uxebrigg(e)* 1274 Ass, [*Wuxe-*] -*brug(g)* 1294 Ass, *Wexebrigg(e)* 1274 Ass, -*brugge* 1294 Ch, [<e> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough]

Hundred: GORE

XD: pa Edgware TQ1992

Place name: BROADFIELDS AVENUE p. 50-1

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item BROAD-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Bradfeld* 1281 Ct

Place name: EDGWARE BURY p. 51

Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial

test item BURY-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Berifel* 1277 Rental

XE: pa Harrow TQ1488

Place name: WEALDSTONE p. 54

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>

John *atte Stone* 1282 MxRec

Place name: SUDBURY p. 54

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<u>

*Suthbery* 1282 MxRec, *Sudbery*, *Sudbur'* 1294 Ass, *La Suzberi* [sic] 1299 AD iv

XG: pa Kingsbury TQ1988

Place name: KINGSBURY p. 61

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <e>

*Chingesberie* 1086 DB

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <i/y>

*Kingesbir'* 1199 Cur [*et passim* to 1316 FA, with variant spellings *Kynges-* and *-bury*, *-beri*], *Kiggesebire* (sic) 1199 Cur

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>

[*Chinges-*] *-biri* 1219 Pap [<e> and <u> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough after the date 1199: "*et passim* to 1316 FA, with variant spellings *Kynges-* and *-bury*, *-beri*"]]

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Kynkesbury* 1294 Ass [<e> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough after the date 1199: "*et passim* to 1316 FA, with variant spellings *Kynges-* and *-bury*, *-beri*"]]

XI: pa Stanmore TQ1691

Place name: STANMORE p. 65

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stanmere* 1086 DB [*et passim* to 1411 FF]

Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>

*Stanmere* 793 (12th) BCS 267

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Stammere* 1219 Pap, *Stanmere (magna)* 1235 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Stanmere* 1274 Ass, *Stanemere* 1279 QW

XJ: pa Whitchurch TQ1890

Place name: WHITCHURCH p. 66

Variable: OE /a:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>

*Stanmera* 1086 DB

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <a>

*Stanmera* 1106 Round

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>

*Stanmere* 1235 Fees, 1235 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>

*Stanmere parva* 1291 Tax, 1294 Ass, *Stanmere* 13th RBE

Hundred: EDMONTON  
XL: pa Edmonton TQ3392

Place name: MILLBROOK p. 71  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item MILL-  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Melcroft, Melflet* 13th AD i

XM: pa Enfield TQ3396

Place name: BROADFIELD p. 71 see p. 213  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BROAD  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <o>  
*Est- Westbrodefeld* 1228 RecStBarts

XO: pa Tottenham TQ3390

Place name: BROAD MEAD p. 80  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item BROAD-  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*(le) Brademade* 1197 FF  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
[(*le*) *Brade-*] -mede 1294 Ass

Variable: OE /æ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -MEAD  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*(le) Brademade* 1197 FF  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
[*Brade-*] -mede 1294 Ass

Hundred: OSSULSTONE  
XP: pa OSSULSTONE TQ2882

Place name: OSSULSTONE p. 81  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -STONE  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>  
*Osulvestan(e)* 1086 DB  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*Osulfestan* 1167, 1168 P, *Osolvistan* 1172 P  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
[*Osol*] -ves- [*tan*] 1235 Ass  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
*Osulvestone, Osulveston, Osolston* 1274 Ass, *Oselston* 1290 Ipm

XQ: pa The Borough of Acton TQ2080

Place name: ACTON p. 81  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item OAK-  
Period: 1151-1200, spelling: <a>  
*Acton(e)* 1181 StPauls DB (p)

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Aketon* 1211 Cur, 1213 Abbr, *Acton(e)* 1232 Cl,  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Acton(e)* 1294 Ass [The name also appears with -oak in name non-initial position in the period 1251-1300, see below.]

Place name: EAST ACTON p. 82  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -OAK  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <a>  
*Estacton* 1294 Ass

Place name: BOLLO BRIDGE p. 82  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>  
*Bolebregge* 1229-39 StPaulsCh

XW: pa The Borough of Finsbury TQ3182

Place name: FINSBURY p. 93  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BURY  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i/y>  
*Vinisbir'* 1231 FF, *Vinesbir'* 1235 Ass *Finesbir'* 1235 Ass [*et passim* to 1475 FF with variant spellings *Fynes-*, and *-bury*, *bery*]  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>~<u>  
[*Vines-*] *-bur'* 1275 RH, *-byri* 1288 StPaulsMSS, (*Soka de*) *Fynisbyr'* 1274 Ass, *Fynesbury Soken* 1294 [Ass], *Fyn(n)ebyr'* 1253 FF, 1274 Ass[<e> may have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough after the date 1235: "*et passim* to 1475 FF with variant spellings *Fynes-*, and *-bury*, *-bery*"]

Variable: initial fricative voicing of [f] name-initial  
test item FIN-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <f>~<v>  
*Vinisbir'* 1231 FF, *Vinesbir'* 1235 Ass, *Finesbir'* 1235 Ass (*et passim* to 1475 FF, with variant spellings *Fynes-* and *-bury*, *-bery*), *Fyn(n)ebyr'* 1253 FF  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <f>~<v>  
[*Vines-*] *-bur'* 1275 RH, *-byri* 1288, StPaulsMSS, *Soka de Fynisbyr'* 1274 Ass, *Fynesbury Soken* 1294 ib., *Fyn(n)ebyr'* 1274 Ass

Place name: MISSING IN PDE p. 99  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BRIDGE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Cubreggestrete* 1300 RecStBarts

Place name: TURNMILL ST p. 99  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -MILL  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i>  
*Trillemille* 1294 Ass

XX: pa Friern Barnet TQ2892

Place name: WHETSTONE p. 100-1



Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item -STONE  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
*Whetston* 1271 FF

Y3: pa The Borough of Holborn TQ3081

Place name: BLOOMSBURY p. 114  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -BURY  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>  
*Blemondesberi* 1291 AD i

Y8: pa The Borough of Poplar TQ3780

Place name: OLD FORD p. 136  
Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -MILL  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>  
*Eldefordmelne* 1230 Bracton

YA: pa The Borough of St Pancras TQ3082

Place name: BATTLEBRIDGE (now KINGS CROSS) p. 140  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial  
test item BROAD-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <a>  
*Bradeford* 1207 FF

YB: pa The Borough of Shoreditch TQ3282

Place name: HAGGERSTON p. 146  
Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items in non-initial position  
test item -STONE  
Period: DB 1086, spelling: <a>  
*Hergotestane* 1086 DB  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <o>~<u>  
*Hergotestune* c. 1220 Add, *Heregodeston* 1221-30 Fees, *Haregodeston* 1242 Fees,  
*Hargodestone* 1250 StPaulsMSS  
Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <o>  
*Hergodeston* 1274 Ass, [*Hergote*-] -ston 1274 Ass, Cl

YC: pa The Borough of Stepney TQ3481

Place name: WAPPING p. 152  
Variable: OE /y/ test items name-initial  
test item MILL-  
Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>  
*mill called Wapping in Stebbehey* 1231 FF [also: *molendina de Wapping*' 1218-26 StPaulsCh]

YH: pa The Borough of Willesden TQ2284

Place name: TWYFORD p. 160  
Variable: initial fricative voicing [f] name non-initial

test item OE (*twi*)-*fyrde*

Period: DB 1086, spelling: <v>

*Tueverde* 1086 DB, [subsequently *Twiferde* 1183 StPaulsCh, *Twiford* 1199 Cur et freq, with variant spelling *Twy*-, *Twyford* al. *Twyforth* 1402 Pap] ['Double ford,' v. *twi*, *fyrde*]

test item OE (*twi*)-*fyrde* 'double ford'

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <f>~<v>

[*Tw*i-] *-ferd*, *-fierd* 1219 FF, *-verd* 1222 StPaulsDB (p), *-ferd* c. 1250 StPauls [subsequently, *Westwyford* 1274 Ass, Est *Twyford* next *Wylesdon* 1294 FF]

Place name: BRONDESBURY p. 161

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <u>

*Bronnesrburie* 1254 Val, *Brondesbury* 1291 Tax

Place name: MAPESBURY p. 162

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <e>

*Mapesberi* 1250 StPauls

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>~<u>

*Mapesbury* 1254 Val, 1291 Tax, *Mappesber'* [1291 Tax]

Hundred: WESTMINSTER

YJ: pa Westminster TQ2979

Place name: STONE CROSS p. 173

Variable: OE /ɑ:/ test items name-initial

test item STONE-

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <o>

*Stone Cross of la Straund* 1242 Pat

Place name: EBURY p. 167

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BURY

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <e>

*Eubery* 1300 Ipm

Place name: KNIGHTSBRIDGE p. 169

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1101-1150, spelling: <u>

*Cnithtebruga* 1121-40 Dugd iv

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>

*Knichtebrig'* 1235 Ass

Period: 1251-1300, spelling: <i/y>~<u>

*Cnichtebrugge* t. Hy 3 BM [et passim to 1383 IpmR, with variant spellings *Knighte*-, *Knyghte*-, *Kniste*-, and *-bregge*, *-brigge*, *-brygge*], *Cnihtebricge* 1042-66 (13th) WDB, [<e> have been also attested, however the record is not detailed enough]

Place name: ST MARY le STRAND p. 180

Variable: OE /y/ test items in non-initial position

test item -BRIDGE

Period: 1201-1250, spelling: <i>

*Ulebrigg* 1222 Westlake